



SOCIAL ACTION

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EDITORIAL

THE MIND OF PANDIT NEHRU

To know the mind of Pandit Nehru, one generally has to consult his writings and speeches. Panditji has favoured us with his autobiography. He has also set down his thoughts in several volumes both in serious and familiar vein. Then there are his biographers, who have written copiously about the Prime Minister and his environment. From all this a fairly comprehensive and graphic picture emerges of a great

personality, who has played an international role in history, who is the idol of his people, but some of whose ideas and policies have been the object of much discussion and sometimes bitter dispute. It was to clarify these intriguing areas in the outlook and attitudes of Mr. Nehru that R. K. Karanjia undertook to interview the prime minister personally and elicit answers to questions phrased with this aim in view. The results

have been embodied in a slim volume entitled "The Mind of Mr. Nehru".*

Nehru and Gandhiji

Mr. Nehru is quite frank in admitting the great influence of Gandhiji on his father and himself. He found Gandhiji "a powerful and revolutionary personality and a very effective one too. So was my father in his own way, very strong and stubborn, and, of course, of a very different mould, but Gandhiji persuaded him out of his ways and beliefs to join the freedom struggle. The way this change was brought about by persuasion, consent and patient handling of human nature, without any coercion and at the same time without any compromise on essentials, struck me as something very remarkable and very effective. It was typical of Gandhiji's strategy of winning over opposition. It brought results, produced major changes, not only in relation to father but in relation to all people, the masses and, in fact, the whole country."

In contrast to Communist Karanjia's contempt for

Gandhiji as "a pure and simple nationalist with some kind of atavistic approach", Mr. Nehru maintained that Gandhiji had a deep social conscience and a social philosophy that helped him to attack the problem of untouchability and thus unsettle the whole caste system. At the same time, Gandhiji did not believe in violence. He worked within the social fabric in which the masses had been living for centuries and tried to bring about gradual but revolutionary changes within that system. And the same tradition of continuity with the past is being carried on after his death. Indeed Gandhiji's ideas of co-existence, peace, tolerance, the attitude of live and let live, enunciated in Panchshila at the international level, have been fundamental to Indian thought and action throughout the ages. And Mr. Nehru has quite plainly admitted that his own mind and policies were being moulded by these conceptions and methods of achieving social welfare and social change.

Nehru and Marxism

Mr. Nehru was quite ex-

* 'The Mind of Mr. Nehru' by R. K. Karanjia, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1960.

plicit on the point that the Marxian analysis as an outcome of the peculiar circumstances under which the Industrial Revolution took place in England was suitable to that era and was sufficiently scientific and illuminating to explain the progress of events during those early days of industrialisation. At that time, there were no trade unions, no democratic states to control the capitalists, no law courts and labour legislation to protect the worker. But today under various kinds of social pressure, Capitalism itself has changed. Of course Marx could not read the future and therefore did not imagine that other forces than the ones he perceived actually at work would ever arise to change the situation in an essential way and negate the validity of his social theory.

Today scientific and technological development have to a large extent at least in theory solved the problem of wealth and production. Material prosperity can soon be the lot of all men all over the world, and this is bound to take place in normal circumstances. The great problem of our times, said Mr. Nehru, is not so much the

seeking of economic sufficiency and security as the emptiness of life that follows upon material prosperity. In the U.S.A., for instance, where the greatest progress in production and the highest level of material well-being is enjoyed, the great problem is how to spend one's leisure moments.

Mr. Nehru felt very strongly that this problem could not be tackled entirely on the scientific level; when Karanjia interposed to assure him that the Russians were attempting to solve the problem, he answered, "I wonder if a problem like this can be tackled scientifically to the exclusion of other values. What appears to be wanting is — I do not know how to put it — except to say that it is an *ethical* aspect which might be wanting, some *spiritual* solution." Quipped Karanjia, "What you say raises visions of Mr. Nehru in search of God in the evening of his life!" "If you put in that way, my answer is: Yes, I have changed," said Mr. Nehru. "The emphasis on ethical and spiritual solutions is not unconscious. It is deliberate, quite deliberate. . . . I believe that the human mind is

hungry for something deeper in terms of moral and spiritual development, without which all the material advance may not be worth while."

But how was this ethical and spiritual sense to be developed? Not by religion, believes Mr. Nehru, for he candidly maintains that he is not a religious man. The unfortunate thing is that he confuses religion with mere dogma and ceremony, and in India furthermore religion has been a divisive force. However he clings to some vague kind of pantheistic belief in the presence of the Divinity in each and every man. But his mind is not clear on the point. He fails to see how essential it is that an ethical system must rely on a fundamental basis of religious belief, if it is to control and inspire human behaviour effectively. He believes in a general tolerance of all religions, creeds and philosophies. Is he aiming at a synthesis of religious beliefs? Well he hopes that perhaps India might produce such a synthesis.

He was convinced however that no purely scientific or Marxist approach could solve

the problem of creating a fully integrated human being. There was the spiritual and ethical aspect of the human individual that had to be cultivated. The material machinery of planning and development did not suffice. Indeed planning itself was nothing but a complexity of mathematical formulae. To satisfy the craving of the human spirit, to fill the vacuum or the emptiness was the problem of the hour. Much of the delinquency, sexual outrages and crimes, alcoholism, destructiveness and anarchy of the advanced developed countries were really due to this cause.

Nehru and Socialism

Asked to define his concept of Socialism, Mr. Nehru preferred not to give one, lest it should be turned into a dogma or slogan. For him Socialism has a flexible content and implied the idea of broad social objectives and an economic policy to achieve them. The broad objectives were human welfare and human development, providing opportunity to every human being to develop to the fullest measure possible. The economic approach in India had to fall in line with the

peculiar circumstances and conditions of the country. Almost every century is represented in India, said Mr. Nehru, from the stone age in which some tribals live to the middle of the twentieth century. What he was aiming at was a sound base of industrialisation so that the country could go on developing on its own resources. This would lead to more and more industrialisation. Such advancement in industry was necessary in order to draw off the surplus population at present concentrated on the land. To build up a sound base, India had taken to planning; a method of achieving economic growth on certain fundamental formulae, more mathematical than political or social. But the human element always remained the unknown variable.

As for agriculture, Mr. Nehru was not in favour of large agricultural estates. India was a land of small farmers. He was eager that more and more service co-operatives should be established; as for co-operative farming, it should be encouraged provided the peasants voluntarily entered into the scheme. But he was against compulsion.

What was his estimate of the progress the country had made during the last ten years? It almost seemed as if the country had remained where it was before the plans, said the critics. To this enquiry, Mr. Nehru replied that though some experts especially in agriculture had advised him to take strong measures, he would still keep to the Gandhian methods to start the peasant population moving after the accumulated centuries of inertia. The Zemindari system had been abolished. They were trying to eliminate the conflicts of caste and class gradually. The community development projects were in the field, and more responsibility was being given to the people to urge them to help themselves. Though the progress was slow, Mr. Nehru said he believed in the technical capacity and the intelligence of the Indian people. But he admitted that they were not inclined to work hard enough.

Ends and Means

Defining his objectives more specifically, Mr. Nehru said that the main objective was to increase production and thereby provide fuller employment for the people, a higher

income and an independent and self-developing economy. At the same time, there was the attempt to establish a more egalitarian basis for society in India. This required a planned co-operative economy, not Socialist in any rigid sense, but flexible and pragmatic. Finally, there was the aim of providing every Indian with the opportunity of becoming a fully integrated person. The means to achieve these objectives were fundamentally a democratic parliament and planning.

Accused of having failed to build up a party or at least a small cadre of men devoted to these ideals, Mr. Nehru admitted the fault, but said that he was not constituted like Gandhiji who could get the best out of men and out of the Indian masses. He felt that his ideals were sufficiently spread among the people for them to carry on the same tradition after he was gone.

Foreign Policy

Despite the severe criticism of his policy of co-existence by various critics, Mr. Nehru clung to his position of non-involvement in any military bloc, and the settling of

international issues by peaceful methods. In particular, he had tried to get the Chinese to respect the autonomy of the Tibetans but had failed. However Tibet was a part of China and therefore his government could not interfere. Neither did Karanjia whose sympathies have always been strongly leftist press the point. Thus one of the most important areas for clarification was bypassed without much discussion. India's foreign policy still appears a maze to many Indian and foreign observers and critics, but basically the Gandhian principle of tolerance, live and let live, and co-existence seem to mould and shape it. The application to every concrete circumstance seems far from easy. Is it so simple to co-exist with people who refuse to co-exist with you and are deeply tied to methods of violence and a Marxist belief in the inevitability of their progress and success? Does this not upset the policy of non-alignment especially where the defence of the country and of her democratic institutions are concerned? Has Mr. Nehru honestly faced this problem?

The Future

It is often asked, After Nehru, What? Mr. Nehru is an optimist and feels that though he has not chosen or prepared a successor, his people will continue the traditions he has established. This remains to be seen. Without being unduly pessimistic, the upsurge of communalism thirteen years after independence, the factions in the ruling party, the slow progress of our economic development despite a general improvement in the level of living of our people are not too healthy indications of the

stability of the new democratic traditions that are being planted in the country. A long period of stable government is necessary for the experiment to succeed. A possible successor or at least a good group of men devoted to the Nehru approach which suitable trimmings seems to be an essential need. One can only hope that the path chalked out by Mr. Nehru will remain our precious heritage which will enable the country to reach the wonderful objectives he has always had in mind.

The Editor

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO BUSINESS MANAGEMENT *

W. T. V. Adiseshiah

Introduction

In any kind of organisation, commercial, industrial, or official, there are two important components: the mechanical and the human. The mechanical component may be conceived in terms of the structure of the organization. There are different grades of posts or appointments. There are certain set procedures of action to be followed. There are rules and regulations to be observed. All these are intended to serve the basic purposes for which the organization exists. On the human side, there are individuals who have to function within the framework of the organization. Every individual is a person having his own set of ideas, ambitions, interests and purposes. Hence it is necessary to think of management, not merely in

terms of what has to be done, but also of how best it could be done.

Definition of Management

— Modern scientific thought regards management as something which ought to flow throughout an organization — from top to bottom. It is something which applies to any field of activity where the purposes of tasks entail the control and direction of effort. Management might therefore be defined as the effective and coordinated use of the resources of time, space, materials, and personal effort to achieve a desired result.

Scope of Psychology — One of the first questions to arise in connection with management is: what does modern knowledge regarding Psychology tell us about the funda-

* A lecture delivered at the Delhi School of Economics by Dr. Adiseshiah, M. A., Ph. D.

mental principles of business management ? Psychology may, for the purposes of this discussion be defined as the science of human behaviour. It is necessary, however, to emphasise the important point that the visible or observable aspects of the human behaviour stem from the motives, intentions, feelings, ideas and desires of a person. These processes cannot be directly observed. As such, one has to depend on one's ability to make a correct estimate of the influence of the "inner" on the "outer" in human behaviour. Another important point regarding the application of Psychology to the problems of management arises in connection with the reconciliation of the needs, interests, and purposes of an individual with the fundamental aims of the organization which he serves. In every kind of organization, problems arise out of segmentation in the social structure of the organization. Every one is not the same. There are individual differences which might sometimes bring people into conflict with each other. Thus the problem arises as to how harmonious relationships between different individuals could be maintained. Further,

since management implies knowledge and experience, these have to be imparted by training in the methods of management. Lastly, skill in management is gained by experience not only in management procedure, but, what is more important than that, in dealing with people. Thus the question of the exercise of management skill raises far reaching psychological considerations.

Some Basic Psychological Concepts

The "Inner" "Outer" in Human Behaviour — Possibly the most important contribution to our understanding of the human mind and its workings, as they express themselves in observable behaviour, comes from Psycho-Analysis and its related schools. Today the basic distinction made between conscious and unconscious processes has become an established concept in modern Psychology. It is realized that the greater part of the vastly complex organization of the human mind occurs at the level of the unconscious. Freud advocated this concept in order to account for several things which characterise the behaviour of individuals. He

made a distinction between conscious, preconscious and the unconscious mind which he subsequently modified by his distinction between the Ego, the Super-ego, and the Id. Although it is impossible to enter into a detailed discussion of the exceedingly complex theory of Freud, it will be useful to remember that some of the explanations, advanced by Freud to account for human behaviour, have some elements of truth. The theory advanced by Adler did without doubt arise out of the basic distinctions made by Freud, although Adler laid emphasis on the "will to power" as the main driving force underlying human conduct. Both the Freudian and the Adlerian concepts of the forces underlying human conduct have been criticised on account of their narrowness. They might be true within certain limits. A more comprehensive account of human behaviour was advanced by Prof. Carl Jung. He maintained that the forces which govern human thought and action come partly from the personal experiences of an individual, and partly also from the social or cultural backgrounds which he inherits. He made a distinction

between two types of individuals — the Introvert and the Extravert. Further, he held the view that in every person there are four basic mental functions — sensation, thought, feeling and intuition. Sensory functions arise out of the contacts which a person makes with the world around him. Thought functions stem from the human ability to reason and to discover the causes of things which occur. Feelings arise in one's mind as a kind of reaction to one's experiences in life. Intuition is the power to know or realise what is happening or may happen in the world, without any direct sensory or perceptual experience. It is impossible in this lecture to discuss at length the exact manner in which these functions work in the minds of individuals, but the point to be remembered is that human behaviour is the product of a vast number of influences, some realised in our conscious experience, and many others which are unconscious. One may ask: How would all this apply to the purposes of management? The point of practical significance emerging from this cursory description of the driving forces of human nature is that

at nearly every level of management, one might have to deal with more than what merely transpires at the conscious level of human experience. As such, it will be useful to remember that what a man consciously thinks or feels, accounts for a tiny fraction of his overall mental make-up. To ignore this would be to ignore a significant fact of human nature.

The Human Capacity for Adjustment — The second important fact regarding human nature is the possibility in every individual towards adjustment both to the material environment and to the world at large. At the level of bodily experience, it is well known that every organism becomes adapted to changes in climate, as well as to other stresses affecting the organic frame. There are, however, certain measurable levels of human tolerance. These might differ from one person to another. On the mental side, also, there is in every person the capacity for mental adjustment. This may differ from person to person. It is well known, for instance, that some people tend to feel irritated more quickly than others. In the same person, the capacity for

mental adjustment might differ from time to time. This fact has an important bearing on management problems, since management is, in essence, a technique of getting the best out of other people and of keeping the baser aspects at the lowest possible level.

The Rational Nature of Man — Thirdly, one of the most important ideas formulated by Modern Psychology is in respect of the balance or imbalance which may arise in an individual out of the delicate relationships prevailing between the promptings of human reason and the inner drives of one's emotions. We all know, for instance, that when one thinks over certain developments which may occur in an office, or a firm or a factory, one would feel either pleased or pained about it. This sets up tensions within the minds of individuals. The question as to how one may deal with these tensions has a far reaching practical significance. From the management point of view, the practical issue would be: what are the best ways of keeping tensions at their minimum levels?

Human Interests and Ambitions — Fourthly, everybody knows that people will do good work as long as they are interested in what they are doing. From a practical point of view, ambitions and aspirations are important contributory factors to human efficiency. From the point of view of management some of the practical questions would be: what are the best ways of kindling the interests of people in the work they are doing? How is it possible to know the levels of aspiration in different people? At what points would the ambition of a person cease to be reasonable or legitimate? There are critical situations which persons vested with responsibilities of management might have to tackle in their effort to maintain smoothness and harmony. These then are fundamental practical issues requiring careful thinking by managements.

Essentials of the Psychological Approach

"Fathoming" the Mind —

As has been stated already, the human mind has depth which cannot be easily penetrated — sometimes not even by psycho-analysts. What

is important, however, is that one should be able to cultivate understanding of the minds of other people, especially if one aspires to assume any responsibility in a managerial position. A psycho-analytic training is not really necessary for this. Nor does this even pre-suppose a high level of psychological learning. There are, nevertheless, certain valuable lessons which one may learn from the great volume of psychological literature available today. Some of these have an application to the problems of business management. The mention of a few of these will serve to illustrate the value of the psychological approach:—

- (a) *Needs and Wants* — First of all, it is necessary to assess the true significance of human needs and wants. We all need oxygen in order to live. We need food and clothing, because these things give us radiant health and bodily energy. We need friendship, love and the sense of security which comes from the awareness that other people need us. If these needs are met, we feel

happy and contented. If they are not met, we feel disgruntled and miserable. What a person wants may not always be the thing that he really needs. For instance a man may want a pair of shoes, whereas what he needs might be a horse. In any managerial system, the correct appreciation of other people's needs is of capital importance. It is very likely that there are limits within which alone needs are capable of being satisfied by any management system. Thus the management of a steel factory might not be able to provide air-conditioning facilities for operatives working on the open hearth. It must however provide some protection to every worker, from the severity of the heat and the glare emerging from the open hearth. To take another example, personnel working in a dyeing vat might want to work with their bare hands. What they need would be protective gloves which the management ought not only to supply but also to insist on their using. It is therefore both useful

and necessary from the managerial point of view, for the psychological differentiation between needs and wants to be kept clear in mind.

- (b) *Human Habit System and Their Emotional Concomitants.* Habits are without doubt the best psychological aid to human efficiency. This holds true at all levels of performance. What wonder then, that people who have become accustomed to a certain way of doing things resist any suggestion to do it some other way, even though the other way might be a more sensible alternative. From a common sense point of view, the answer would lie in adopting the method of persuasion. The persuasive force of an individual will depend largely on how well or how badly a manager will exercise that force. By and large, managers at high levels feel tempted to apply their power rather than to use persuasion. Hence the control of emotionally toned resistance to change, encountered by anyone in a

managerial position, would depend almost entirely on the judicious use of the ability to influence or persuade other people.

- (c) *Attitudes* : The practical concerns of anyone in a managerial position usually involve the task of dealing with a variety of attitudes, in a variety of social situations ranging from the Conference room to the Shop floor, or even the platform in an auditorium. How attitudes develop in human minds is one of the enigmas of modern psychology. The enthusiastic attitude, while it may be helpful to the manager in putting his ideas across, may create problems because the enthusiast, as a rule, is inclined to act before the time is ripe for action. The attitude of *apathy* or *indifference* when encountered, requires considerable persuasive effort. Allied to this is the *negativistic attitude* of the obstructionist and the obscurantist. Peculiar difficulties arise when the *hostile attitude* is encountered. Skill in dealing with the hostile indi-

vidual cannot be too strongly emphasized as one of the fundamental requirements of efficient management. Since hostility is an unpredictable psychological entity, it goes without saying that vigilance in being able to meet unexpected developments of hostility is an important management requirement.

Motivation

The big question arising in connection with motivation is "why". To understand correctly why a particular behaviour pattern occurs is not at all easy. The difficulty arises from the fact that human motives are not always simple and straight-forward. Motivation has been studied at the organic level by using animal and human subjects. For instance hungry rats have been placed in obstruction boxes, where the task set for them was to cross a grid in order to get at food pellets placed at the other end of the grid. In this situation, hunger served as a driving force or motivating influence, which impelled the animal to cross the grid. Food served as the incentive. Among human beings, also, the same organic

drives operate, more or less in the same way. They are, however, complicated by the fact that in the human being, thought-functions, particularly anticipatory tendencies are more highly developed. Hence the simple ways in which incentives stir up motivational tendencies in the animal may not hold true at all levels of human behaviour.

Social Aspects of Motivation. — Whereas it may be true that the child is motivated largely by physical stimuli, it is true that even new born babies are sensitive to the presence of each other, and react accordingly. The American psychologist Moreno observed the behaviour patterns of infants in the nurseries of hospitals and found that even they exhibited what he termed "Vertical Differentiation". In adults, this is even more strikingly noticeable. It should therefore be remembered that although biological drives serve as a basis on which complex patterns of activity are built, it is nevertheless true that the social behaviour of human beings be fully understood by reference to biological factors alone.

Motivation and Management — As it applies to management problems, the psychology of motivation has two important implications. First, there can be no doubt that incentives in the form of money, prospects, and other externally attractive factors do indeed serve as stimuli to better motivation, but there are limits to the effectiveness of such incentives. Secondly, the motivational forces underlying human behaviour are capable of being called into action by what people think, how they feel, and the inner forces which work within them.

Human Operator Research

Recent developments in the Science known as Operations Research have brought to light several problems which are of significance from the point of view of management. In nearly every conceivable type of work now-a-days, men are engaged as links in a system of one kind or another. The operative in a factory has, for instance, to spend the greater part of his working hours, watching out for small changes indicated by instruments of various kinds, and manipulating control devices so as to make certain cor-

rective adjustments in the machine under his charge. Man thus functions as part of what one may call the "man-machine" system. In any such system, the most important consideration, from the management point of view, would be how to minimize waste of time and effort, how to reduce error, and how to increase the overall efficiency of the man-machine system. This is one of the fundamental problems of human operator research.

'Display' and 'Control' — Recent Operational Research as it applies to the human factor in any kind of industrial productivity, has brought into relief the far-reaching significance of two matters touching human efficiency : Display and Control.

(a) *Problems of 'Display' —* Since the human operator has to depend on a correct and timely inflow of information relating to the "man-machine" system in which he is engaged, the form in which that information is conveyed to him would determine to no small extent how well or how badly he would respond to it. Thus, ap-

parently minor deficiencies in the design of instruments are capable of giving rise to major errors in human performance. On the other hand, sometimes trivial changes or adjustments in instrument layout and instrument design have resulted in enormous savings in time, effort, and have prevented wastage of resources.

(b) *Problems of 'Control' —* Another important area of operational research has been the investigation of the efficiency of control devices for human use. Whether it be the operation of a lever, or the turning of a wheel, the use of a foot pedal or the manipulation of a switch, not only is it important to consider the energy expended in using the control device, the frequency of action, the rhythm of the action, but also the possibilities of achieving economy of effort and securing ease of operation. More and more to-day, complexity in machine design is out-doing the ingenuity of the human operator. There is, therefore, constant ef-

fort to achieve a compromise between the complex demands of the machine and the human limitations of the operator.

Knowledge of Results — It has now become accepted, more or less as a psychological axiom, that if any management desires better results from its workers, by far the best way of achieving this would be to make them aware, from time to time, regarding the standard they have attained in their performance. Within the "man-machine" system, therefore, provision has to be made for an informative "feel back" to the operator, which will serve this purpose. Various research studies on the human operator have made it abundantly clear that "knowledge of results", imparted to the operator at points where the standard of his performance tends to fall, has led to an immediate restoration of the normal and sometimes even the expected level of efficiency.

The "Pace" of work — Another striking fact, brought to light by recent operations research is the value of allowing people to work at their own pace, rather than at

a mathematically regulated pace. This may not always be practicable especially in situations where work has to be completed with restricted limits of time; but even so, it is necessary for management to realize that there are limits to the speed with which people may be expected to complete any work set for them. Some are slow moving, whereas others work fast. Some are slow starters, but pretty quick when they warm up. Others proceed rapidly at first, but slow down after a while. It takes all sorts of people to make a world.

Management Problems and Operations Research — Although the range of operations research is much wider than what has been indicated here, it will be realized that from the point of view of management, operations research reveals certain scientifically valuable facts regarding the capabilities and limitations of the human being. This is, unquestionably, a very important consideration in scientific man management to-day.

Conclusion

To sum up, interest in human behaviour is probably

as old as Adam. Men have shown constant concern with how men behave. The major gains in our understanding of human behaviour have come from the scientific study of the way in which individuals learn and behave. Hence the main problem which the manager of any organization has to face now-a-days is how to establish and maintain the human touch, and at the same

time to achieve the maximum level of operational efficiency. It goes without saying that the problem of getting people to do what they ought to be doing demands, above everything else, an insight into the roots of human behaviour, and the complex patterns of adjustment that make for the proper utilization of time, money materials and effort.

1961 OUTLOOK FOR THE CPI

A. Nevett

Next year being election year, it will be opportune to make a survey of the prospects for the CPI (Communist Party of India).

Like most political parties, the CPI has had its ups and downs throughout the fifties. The highest point was reached when it won the elections in Kerala and dreamt of similar success in other states. The nadir was defeat in Kerala, followed by a further loss of face when China violated India's border's.

It would be a mistake, however, either to imagine that the Party is seriously crippled by this fall from power and prestige, or, on the other hand, to think that it is invulnerable and sure of success, come what may. Our purpose here is to try and foresee both the strength and the weakness of the CPI so that being forewarned we may be prepared. A brief review will demonstrate why the CPI is hopeful of making capital out of those

very factors that aided it in the past.

Nationalism and Communalism

Most of the elements that made for Communist success in the past are still present. Divide and conquer is still the master plan. The CPI has always exploited the divergent views and traditions of the different racial groups that make up the Indian Union.

To take an example: in 1940 the Muslim League made its first demand for Pakistan. The CPI cautiously took up this demand, by first announcing, in 1941, that India was not one nation, but a conglomeration of peoples. The Party pundits then went on to enumerate sixteen different Indian nationalities. At first, Bengalis were said to compose one nation, but this opinion was soon modified by the assertion that Bengali Muslims should constitute a separate state. Here, long before partition, we have a claim for E. Pakistan.

As time passed, the CPI showed itself increasingly in favour of Pakistan. P. C. Joshi, General Secretary 1928-1948, and editor of the Communist *New Age*, even proposed that in the new set-up there should be three distinct nations; India, Pakistan and Bengal! Various modifications of these ideas were made, but the general policy of fostering regional autonomy was maintained. The CPI election manifesto, 1945-1946, demanded that each of the sixteen 'nations' be declared independent and that India should be a federation of free states. (Communists have followed a similar policy in Burma by giving support to Karen and Kachin uprisings.)

Linguistic Provinces

Closely allied with the demand for state autonomy has been the agitation for linguistic states. Here again the CPI has been quick to exploit provincial grievances. This linguistic question also brings out into the open how the CPI takes directions from Moscow. One would think that Indians should be the best qualified to take decisions on the language problem. But, no! In 1949, directions were issued from Moscow for a strong anti-

Hindi stand. All Indian languages were equal. Of course, Russia was cited as an example of a multi-linguistic nation in which no attempt was made to force Russian on other nationalities. Wearisome theory was also invoked. Stalin had written in his thesis on nationalities that Russian would fuse with other languages used in the USSR and thus produce a new language. So the same had to happen in India: we were to have a new linguistic brew made from the mingling of sixteen Indian languages. Hence the cry, "Down with Hindi!" In 1951, the CPI officially adopted the anti-Hindi slogan.

But after this date, other factors caused a modification of this extreme view. Moscow decided that it would pay off better dividends to be nice with Mr. Nehru. But it was not possible to be very polite and friendly while at the same time violently agitating against Hindi. So, diplomatically, the anti-Hindi campaign was toned down and it was even granted that Hindi could be used for intercourse between states. To further increase friendliness with the Nehru government, B & K,

on the occasion of their visit, encouraged the advancement of Hindi, and even spoke a few words in it themselves. All languages are equal, but Hindi is more equal than others!

Today, though somewhat toned down, regionalism and the linguistic question remain two of the chief elements in the political field that are exploited by the CPI. Indeed, it has been remarked that Communists are strongest where regionalism and communalism are most deeply entrenched.

"Let a Hundred Blossoms Bloom"

Let a hundred schools of thought contend," May, 1956, Mao Tse-tung. The first phrase is his own; the second is a reference to the rival schools of philosophy in China, 3-4th centuries B.C. When Mao, with this poetical expression, invited criticism of his party, the intellectuals for long were timid to express any criticism. Then, when further encouraged, there followed two months of absolutely free expression and criticism. Alarmed and surprised at the strength of the reaction, the Chinese C. P. reacted and attacked its

critics. What alarmed Mao most was the attack that came from the students. These had spent all their formative years under Communism, and had been one of its main supporters. Now, freed for a short while, they came out in strong criticism of the regime.

Within the CPI, from time to time, some blossoms are allowed to bloom. The Party has its 'rightists', v.g., P. C. Joshi, and its 'leftists', v.g., B. T. Ranadive. The 'rightists' belong to the ballot-box school and believe that they can take the country through the elections. The 'leftists' consider such a method a betrayal of Marxist doctrine and that violence is the way to success. This latter school was in the ascendancy under the leadership of Ranadive, during 1948-1950, and readers will remember the wave of violence that spread over the country at that time.

These internal factions have nearly always been settled by intervention from Moscow. Usually, a high-ranking CPI official goes off to Moscow for "medical treatment" and returns with a medical and political prescription for better health. The

Party then takes the prescribed doses, and all is well until the next bout of internal "sickness".

Some such treatment seems to have been administered on the border question. At first, the CPI was divided: some condoned, others condemned the Chinese violation of the border. Today, Moscow's influence can be felt since little is heard of not blaming the Chinese for acts of aggression. The CPI has set out on the tricky task of walking the tight-rope between offending the Chinese and arousing the wrath of the Indian Government. If forced to choose, around election time, the CPI would most probably prefer to alienate the Chinese rather than antagonize the Indian Government. But it is certain that they will do their best to avoid being forced into making a clear-cut decision.

Internal rifts within the CPI should not be exaggerated. Much of the disagreement within the Party is nothing more than a reflection of what takes place all over the country. There are strong and rival opinions about most important national questions, and the solutions suggested

vary greatly according as they come from different regions. The CPI is composed of members from nearly all communities and it would be surprising if they did not have their differences. However, unlike local parties, it has the advantage of getting strong outside direction. As remarked above, Moscow always intervenes at times of crisis. (Peking as an adviser, is, for the time being, out of favour.)

Another guiding light over the decades has been R. Palme Dutt, born of an Indian father and Swedish mother. A British communist of note, a moderate, he has had great personal influence over the CPI. His advice has always been well received and has saved Indian Communists from some of the errors of extremism.

An example of the disadvantages of outside advice is that given by Stalin. He blundered egregiously in his direction of the young Chinese C. P. He ordered them to rise in revolt in 1926 and the rebellion was badly crushed; he commanded the Party to concentrate on urban workers and to ignore the peasants. Mao ignored the order, did

the opposite and turned his country Red. (It is because of these blunders that Peking looks askance at advice from Moscow.)

Indian non-Communists can be a little grateful to Stalin for having similarly blundered in directing the CPI. He ordered that the Party strongly oppose Gandhiji and Nehru. The result was that for eight years, 1928-35, the Party was out in the wilderness and cut off from the national movement. Had it gone along with the nationalists, its position today would undoubtedly have been very much stronger. Today, however, direction from Moscow is no longer as monolithic as it was in Stalin's day. It would be unwise to rely, for the next elections, on the CPI making some colossal blunder.

Successful Openings

It would be surprising if the Communists did not make a strong bid to gain Kerala, Andhra and W. Bengal. In Kerala and Andhra, it will be remembered, they did not lose in the absolute number of votes. By greater concentration of their forces they could improve on their present position and win more seats.

To many observers W. Bengal appears the most dangerous spot of all. Conditions in Calcutta should make *any one* want to revolt. There is no need to be a Communist for that. The city seems to take on, every day, a little more of the aspect of a large and hideous slum. One has the impression of a city ready to erupt. The lowest of the low, the pavement dwellers, the half-dressed and the half-starved, are too miserable to revolt. But they could be used for demonstrations, etc., by more inflammatory types. The restless, dissatisfied youth who have picked a smattering of Communism from teacher and professor in school or college, are like rags with oil poured over them. They wait only for the match to set them ablaze.

Past history points to the probability of a conflagration. When Communist violation spread over the country, 1948-1950, W. Bengal was prominent for the number of outrages committed. The Bengal Committee of the CPI exhorted army personnel to shoot down Congress followers; it asked students and workers to rise in rebellion, and, in general, demanded

that Congress be violently expelled from W. Bengal.

All this could happen again. A restraining factor is the fissiparous tendency of Bengali Communists to split up into different parties: orthodox, Trotskyites, Forward Bloc, Marxists. But it is too much to hope that they will not all unite for election purposes, even if they do fall into dispute and division afterwards.

The United Front

In the past an electioneering union with other leftist parties has proved the CPI's trump card. It attributes its success in Kerala to this strategy, and failure in Andhra to a lack of it. Wherever the Party has used the United Front policy it has done well. The present tactics of praising the Nehru Government is but another aspect of the same policy. It is quite likely that the insistence from Delhi that it is a socialist government, working for a socialist pattern of society, also helps the CPI in an indirect way. For in every socialist party there are extremists who have communist leanings and who may vote communist.

P. C. Joshi has always been an advocate of cooperation with the Nehru government. Since he remains very influential in the Party and his policy pays good dividends, it can be expected that the same policy will be continued during the coming elections on the note of: "The Government is doing fairly well but we could do the same things much better". Communist praise of the socialist tendencies of the present Government should be judged in the light of the above facts.

The Communists are making steady progress among industrial workers. The AITUC (Communist) trade union claims to be the largest federation in the country. The policy of a united front is carried in unionism. The AITUC is ready to come in on any strike, no matter who starts it, provided it can be turned to Red profit.

Similar tactics are employed for peasant organizations such as the Peasants and Workers Party, and the many Kisan Parties throughout the country.

In April, 1961, the Third Five Year Plan is scheduled

to start. This is not the place to discuss its prospects. If a success, it will help to defeat Communism. But it must be recognized that certain aspects of the new Plan *may* aid the Red election campaign. The Third Plan is more ambitious than its two predecessors. It relies heavily on foreign aid, to the tune of 28 per cent of the total cost of the Plan. Observers point out that the large amount envisaged may not be forthcoming. It certainly would not if the West experienced a serious slump during the new Plan. Taxation, never a popular measure, will be increased to Rs. 330 crores a year; unemployment is not likely to decrease much. There will be more jobs, but also, by the end of the Third Plan, 40 million more people. One can easily see how the Communists will exploit these and any other difficulties that will arise.

Will the CPI, profiting from its experience over the reaction to Chinese incursions over our border, now attempt to remove the great disadvantage it labours under of being considered as a foreign party. The accusation that it receives guidance from a foreign power is true. Should the Party become more Indian and inde-

pendent of outside sources, it would undoubtedly increase its strength. This, in turn opens up interesting speculations as to whether Indian Communists would follow in Tito's footsteps and break with Moscow. This is not the time, however, to speculate what *might* happen. What is happening is that recent CPI Congresses have insisted on more Indianization.

This survey may produce pessimism in some minds. It is not intended to do so. It is meant as a pointer to dangers and weak points so that we may not be overcome by surprise when Communist propaganda takes the predicted course. If would be surprising if the CPI got less votes than during the last elections. It would not be surprising if they got more.

But the general perspective is hopeful. We have had fourteen years of peace and complete freedom. Two five-year plans have shown considerable success. Two general elections were well conducted. Civil liberty is strong and well protected. Even the linguistic division of states has gone off smoothly. Is not this undoubted success the best guide to the future?

RELIGION IN RURAL RUSSIA

C. C. Clump

(TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: The Soviet Review, *Kommunist* of May 1960, published a report of a socio-religious enquiry into the condition of religion among the rural workers in an area of 400 sq. kilometres to the north of Moscow. The investigation was made by Soviet academicians, L. Pouchkarewa, G. Snesev and M. Chmeleva of the Soviet Academy of Science, and aimed at discovering the present state of religion among the rural population, especially, workers in collective farms, so as to intensify the anti-God campaign. The summary given below is important because it gives a picture of the anti-God war in the U.S.S.R. and helps us to understand the tactics used by militant atheism. Passages dealing with Soviet methods and tactics are printed in heavy type. The "Notes" at the end of the summary are intended for those who may like to use them for study circle discussions.)

Results already achieved in the anti-God campaign

(1) The majority of the collective farm workers (kol-khoniens) are already confirmed atheists. In some areas whole villages have been freed from the influence of religion. The workers of the Ilitch collective farm in the region of Bejets and the people of the village of Orlika have long since given up their religious practices. In new surroundings and separated from their usual traditions and customs, workers soon give up the religious practices which they learnt while young. Thus, in the village

of Karanaevo no icons are to be found, and the observance of baptismal ceremonies and the keeping of religious feasts have been abandoned.

(2) These are not isolated cases and similar examples may be discovered in several other rural areas. The tendency to destroy religion is a characteristic of the Soviet anti-God campaign and it is expressed by a constant struggle against every religious conviction found among the people. Nevertheless, among the population of the collective farms are still to be found some who believe in

religion, but even these people, under the pressure of their new surroundings and the anti-God drive, are beginning to doubt and distrust their religious beliefs and show signs of slipping into the practice of atheism.

A new type of Believer

(3) There is a marked difference between Believers of pre-Revolution days and those of today. This is due to the fact that in pre-Revolution days, religious convictions were tied to the political set-up of the day, whereas, today, there is a clean break in the link between religion which maintains its reactionary tendencies, and progressive Soviet politics. This difference is seen even in the knowledge of the religion among so called Believers. Modern believers in the country have little or no knowledge of their dogmatic truths, and possess a vague and undefined belief in some kind of Superior Power who must be placated. Thus, R. a collective farm worker from the village of Kijkov says, "Prayer is for everyday business; for those who are afraid, for the sick child, for the safe return of the soldier who has gone to battle..... prayer is useful in

such cases". This utilitarian attitude characterises the prayers of the majority of the modern believers.

(4) Even among these people the value of a personal, spiritual life has completely disappeared. Daily prayer is unknown and the attendance at religious worship is most irregular. These people find religious ceremonies wearisome and they maintain that prayers are often forgotten in the business of daily life. Thus, Z. who is a fifty year old collective farm worker says, "My daughter has to attend to the cow, how can she find time for religion?" The truth, however, is that there is no want of time, but a total loss of a sense of dependence on God, which explains this indifference. Most rural workers agree that the neglect of religion dates from the establishment of collectivization in the countryside. In fact, socialistic economy has brought about a break in the link between rural economy and religion. Formerly the lives of the rural peoples were governed by a quasi-religious calendar in which religious feasts marked off the seasons of the year. Prayers were offered for rain and for the pro-

tection of the Saints of the fields and farms. Today all this has disappeared, and prayers and processions organized to protect the rural peoples from the calamities of Nature are no longer practised.

The Living Religion

(5) According to Marxism, while the social consciousness of the people is merely the product of the means of production, yet it tends to have a certain amount of independence. Religious consciousness is subject to this law. Thus, we find traces of religious convictions even in a socialistic society. Hence, also, while great transformations in the religious attitudes of the rural masses have come about, since the Revolution, it would be wrong to minimise the harmful effects of religion on socialistic society. It must never be forgotten, that no matter how religious worship is transformed and adapted to new social conditions, it is always an obstacle to the full development of creative action; it weakens the confidence of people in scientific technique, and it is radically opposed to a complete transformation of the conditions of life. Thus, while it is true

that the influence of religion has weakened, it must be admitted that a number of religious ceremonies have penetrated deeply into the lives of a certain section of the people. These religious practices are considered to be an essential part of the daily lives of the people and have received the sanction of custom and tradition. This is revealed by the worship of icons, the observance of the ceremonies of Baptism, marriage and religious festivals. Here is a problem of great importance and the success or failure of the anti-God campaign will depend on its solution. To bring this about, the different categories of Believers must be dealt with according to their own religious outlook.

The Aged

(6) It would be erroneous to group together all Believers on the assumption that all have the same and uniform ideas about religion. Only among a small number, and these are people who are over 60 years of age, is it possible to find any unified system of common religious ideas and opinions. This small group belongs to the pre-Revolutionary period and is made up of people who were brought

up on strict religious principles, and hence it is very difficult to rid them of their religious convictions. From this group some have been freed from their religious prejudices — thanks to the key positions they have been given in the administration of the post-Revolutionary period. Others have been shaken in their faith by the success of socialism, and the progress of science. Thus, the Collective farm worker, I., from the village of Larionovo, who was once a fervent religious young man, now, at the age of 83, said, "There is something in religion, but there is also something wanting. Someone has made the earth, the sea and the forests: but who? No one knows. It was once said that we can do nothing without God; but now we can plunge into the depths of the sea, fly in the air, without God..." If religion still persists with those who hesitate, this follows from the fact that they lack a true and scientific knowledge of history, physics, biology and are ignorant of the natural causes of progress.

(7) Our anti-religious propaganda among the aged is often based on wrong assump-

tions. Thus, it is wrongly supposed that religion will pass away with the passing of the older generation. The fact is that these elderly people pass on their religious belief to the young, and so religion passes from generation to generation. An example of this is found in the case of the farm worker, B. of the village of Andanichino who forced her daughter to marry in the Church, and said: "Our children are ours, and they will do as we say."

(8) The difficulty in this struggle against the religious convictions of the older generation derives from the fact that each individual needs particular attention. It is only thus that an indifferent Believer can be made into a confirmed atheist, and a firm Believer be made to doubt his religion. Not only must all belief in God be destroyed, but, and this is more important, the religious hold of the old upon the young must be weakened, and religious tradition wiped out. In order to bring this about, atheists of the same age group must be brought into the anti-God campaign, as such persons will more easily find the correct methods and arguments

which will go to the hearts of the people of their own age.

Middle Age Group

(9) Most of these persons (in the 45 to 50 years age group) who have been trained in Soviet schools have lost the Faith. These persons have been trained in Communist institutions, and their ideas and opinions have been changed — thanks to the social, political, cultural and economic transformations they have witnessed. This middle age group warmly welcomes everything that is new, and takes an active part in the social transformation they witness. Many among them refuse all religious ceremonies at marriage, and have given up all belief in the Sacrament of Baptism, and the veneration of icons. The women of this group take an active part in the cultural, social and political activities of their regions, they have organised "women's circles" for rural uplift and are members of the Collective Farm Committees. All these activities help them to be rid of the old religious convictions and superstitions.

(10) The modern workers of the middle-age group on

the collective farms are atheists. The number of women who are atheists in this age-group far exceeds that which is found in an older age-group. These atheists, at first, rather timid, soon become bold and ardent anti-God fighters, as is illustrated by Mrs. K., a fifty year old member of the Communist party of the village of Dmitrovskoe. During her youth she was a pious young woman, often at Church and a member of the choir. Later, when married to a collective farm worker she became active in the rural Communist activities, gave up her Faith and soon became a militant atheist.

(11) Besides these women who are confirmed atheists there are others who still call themselves Believers. The latter, however, have not even the most elementary knowledge of religious truths, do not know their prayers, their religious festivals and rites. Unable to give any reason for their Faith, they have recourse to the authority of their elders: "The old people say so; our fathers and grandfathers have followed this practice." The reason for this blind attachment to a religion

of which they know nothing, must be sought for in the lack of culture in these people. Their mental attitude is such that it easily falls a victim to religious influence, and to persons who still believe. Furthermore, their enclosed family life is an obstacle to the attacks of our anti-God propaganda.

(12) The best methods of destroying the religious beliefs of their people is to transform their private and family lives, by forcing the women to take an active part in the social life of their region. Social agencies and the social activity of collective farms should give special care to propaganda by word and action when dealing with this group. Nor should they omit that form of propaganda which makes use of conferences, discussions, explanations, evening classes, etc., even when these are poorly attended. By explaining to the rural peoples the Communist view about religion, by teaching them scientific arguments against religion, we can lay the foundation for atheism. Such a foundation will both resist religious propaganda and also greatly help

the infiltration of materialistic ideas of progress.

The Youth

(13) The youth (18 to 35 age group) on collective farms must be given special treatment. Most of these young persons have been educated in special Soviet schools and large numbers have given up all religious beliefs and practices. In fact, unbelief has become a habit with them, because they have been brought up during a period of massive rejection of all religion. Nevertheless, there is a certain weakness in this type of "innate" atheism, because these young people are not conscious of the evil of religion and so, do not usually make good militant atheists. They do not see the essentially reactionary nature of religion, and so are inclined to think that it is merely a spent force having no value today.

(14) Anti-religious propaganda, therefore, must furnish the young not only with correct Communist ideas about the natural sciences of physics, biology, etc., but also teach them the essentially harmful aspect of religion.

We must not only indoctrinate the young with a materialistic concept of the world, but also make them implacable enemies of every show of religion. Thus great care must be given to the influence of religion on children. From our enquiry, it would appear that such influence is still exercised over the young because our socialistic system of education is poorly organised, with the result that many young people stay at home and under the influence of their grandparents. Thus, the young are taught to worship God, recite their prayers and venerate icons. They are taken to religious services, taught religious stories, the use of holy water and other religious practices. While it is true that many children forget all this when they leave home, it is imperative that our schools should teach children the materialistic concept of the world. To do this successfully, every teacher must have a very intimate knowledge of each child, and its family. Atheistic education cannot be satisfied with a few talks on atheism; in fact, every lesson of every subject must be given an atheistic interpretation and used to destroy the religious belief of

the child. A down-to-the-earth attitude and a careful study of the special characteristics of different groups of children are essential conditions for the success of the scientific propaganda of atheism.

Icons

(15) Scientific atheism demands not only a good knowledge of the special characteristics of different groups of Believers, but also a perfect knowledge of the nature, role and appeal of religious practices. The most difficult of these to overcome are practices which are bound up with some historic tradition; such is the case with the custom of venerating icons. Nevertheless such veneration, today, has quite a different meaning from that of earlier times. Today, in most cases icons are not objects of superstition, and some older people even regard them with indifference. Thus, some say, that an icon "is merely a piece of wood", or "something to remind one of religion", or "something which is man-made". Nevertheless, while it may be true that icons have lost their religious meaning, they still remain symbols of the family altar.

These images may be found in the homes even of atheists; in some homes they are merely souvenirs left behind by a former generation, in others they are the ordinary furnishings of the room.

(16) It would be wrong, however, to see in this practice merely a relic of the past. The family of Believers make use of icons to contaminate children, and are symbols of the strength of the patriarchal way of life. Hence, atheistic propaganda must expose the uselessness of icons and the harm they do. This, however, must be done with great prudence. Any official order forbidding the keeping of icons will only help to drive them underground. They will disappear only when people realise that religion is a lie, that all old religious practices are worthless, and when the new order is firmly established in every home.

Baptism

(17) Baptism is a religious practice which is extremely hard to eliminate. The practice disappeared in the early 20s and 30s but with the outbreak of World War II has reappeared. Hence, most children, except those of

'intellectuals', born during and after World War II have been baptised. Many who are not themselves baptised, insist on having their children baptised, and they refuse to have anything to do with a woman who does not have her child baptised. This leads to many baptisms and is most effective in places in which no creche is provided for workers' children. Many parents find the ceremonies of Baptism attractive, and consider it a social function, even though they are ignorant of the religious significance of this Sacrament. Nevertheless, this is a first step towards a religious life. Whatever be the motive which urges parents to have their children baptised, we Communists know that Baptism makes one a member of the Christian community, and so must be rooted out. This can be done by introducing Communistic rites and ceremonies to replace those of the Christian religion.

Religious Marriage, Mass, Benediction and Funeral Ceremonies

(18) The religious ceremony of marriage, like that of Baptism, has passed through the same evolution in

Soviet Russia. However, in some rural areas it has again become the fashion to marry in a church, and the reappearance of this tradition is due to the fact that we Communists have established no new customs for family festivals. Thus, in the villages of the district of Bejets, it has become the fashion to marry in the church. This, however, is not widespread and is, in fact, unknown in other rural areas.

(19) Other religious ceremonies, like Mass and Benediction still appeal to certain sections of the rural peoples. Ignorant of the true meaning of such practices, sometimes, even the elite of collective farm workers share in such ceremonies. Thus, the farm worker, R., married in a church, venerated icons and made the Sign of the Cross. Unwittingly she gave bad example to many other farm workers. Though many citizens do no longer believe in life after death, they insist on religious funeral ceremonies and prefer these to the civil ceremony.

(20) In order to suppress the religious ceremony of marriage it is not enough to

bring up the children in an atmosphere of atheism. New and attractive forms of ceremonies must be found in keeping with the socialistic way of life. Besides the ceremony used by the Komsomol, others, more attractive, must be exploited. The civil ceremony used at funerals, especially in rural areas, is not attractive and solemn enough to catch the interest of rural people and hence they go back to the religious ceremonies of funerals.

Religious Festivals

(21) The number of religious festivals which people still celebrate are greatly reduced. Thus, Christmas, Easter, the Feast of the Most Holy Trinity are kept as family feasts, and this only when the family counts among its members some of an older generation. Great importance is given to externals, such as, singing, painted eggs for Easter, and decorations for Pentecost. Collective farm workers no longer consider it a sin to work on days of religious feasts, even though household duties are often kept for another day.

(22) The modern collective farm worker sees in these

feasts nothing more than some rural customs, and it is only the persons of the older generation who see in them any religious significance. Such feast days bring together relatives and friends from neighbouring villages, and the gathering soon degenerates into open brawls and squabbles. This means a loss of productive activity. The younger generation often protest against such parochial festivities.

(23) The struggle against these celebrations is often the work only of the civil administration, and gives poor results because it is not accompanied by any proper education of the people. Often, at a meeting of collective farm workers such feasts are condemned, but as soon as the feast day comes round, the celebrations are held! If these relics of the past are to be eliminated, half-measures are useless. Nor does it help much to organise collective farm functions on the days of religious festivals. The people must be educated by means of conferences and special lessons. This must be done not only in one collective farm, but in the whole region. The leisure hours of collective

farm workers must be devoted to anti-religious activities, and new collective farm feasts must be introduced. These will replace the former religious feasts and render the life of rural peoples more interesting and alive.

Towards a more effective anti-God campaign

(24) The religious practices found among collective farm workers are in no way the expression of a unified religious faith. They have long since lost their religious content, and are, today, merely popular customs. Nevertheless, they do establish conditions favourable to the preservation of a religious ideology and the spread of religion.

(25) The success of the war against the survival of religious practices is closely linked to the cultural standards of the population. Unfortunately, there are too few libraries, clubs and other cultural institutions in rural areas. The programmes of our rural clubs and libraries do not always take into account the growing cultural needs of the population. In all the collective farms which we visited, we found but one

cultural agency and its workers were not specially trained. The use of atomic energy, the conquest of space, the invention of new technology give so much scope to prove that religion is anti-scientific and the science of materialism and atheism all-powerful.

(26) The directives of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party concerning "the task of Party Propaganda in our times" urge all social agencies, and especially all party organs to take into consideration details of age, occupation, education, nationality and other characteristics of the different strata of the population. All this is very closely allied to our propaganda of the atheistic concept of the world, and must be used to attack the individual Believer and the family which is the basic cell for the preservation of religion. This is why it is all important to deal with individuals, and their psychological outlook.

Militant Atheism

(27) We must fight for each individual. This cannot be done except by an all-out sympathetic, considerate, pains taking and patient ef-

fort. This type of humanism derives from the very nature of socialistic communist society. When man, thus, finds himself surrounded by his devoted comrades of collective farms, he no longer finds himself isolated and helpless in his poverty and misery. In this way, the last stronghold of religion (which comforts man) is broken and destroyed.

(28) The struggle against religion must be a real war. Every Communist is in duty bound to be a militant. None can be merely passive or indifferent. It is wrong to think that the past is dead, and then indulge in a passive attitude towards the religious practices which still flourish in certain rural areas. Such an attitude helps the revival of religion. Every Communist is called upon to fight zealously for the spread of the true (Communist) scientific and materialistic concept of the world. Thus, an army of Communist teachers, engineers, agriculturists, scientists and cultural workers will be a force which cannot but conquer the old ideas of a supernatural world.

(29) Aesthetical education has an important role to play

in the destruction of religion. By the use of new forms, rites and ceremonies which tend to satisfy the love of ritual acts among our rural peoples, the former religious ceremonies can be displaced. The past cannot be wiped out by mere legislation. The expression of religion must be replaced by new and more attractive ceremonials which satisfy the inner cravings of the human heart. Much has been done in this field but much still remains to be done.

(30) We have numerous means to root up, once and

for all, every trace of religion. The very struggle for a Communist order brings about the most favourable conditions for the success of scientific atheistic propaganda. The problem consists in making better use of these conditions. Lenin has said : "Atheistic propaganda must use every means in its power to win the masses ; it must put before the people every aspect of human life, approach them by every way so as to catch their interest, break their religious sleep and help them in every way and by every possible means, etc." (Works, t. xxxiii, p. 204).

NOTES

(Figures in brackets refer to the Text)

1. What is atheism ? Is there any difference between Atheistic Communism and other types of atheism ?
2. Read section 2 of the Text and explain the chief characteristics of Atheistic Communism.
3. Read section 3 and explain :
 - (a) The differences between the two types of Believers in the USSR.
 - (b) What is a Dogmatic Truth.
 - (c) The utilitarian nature of prayer.
4. Read section 4 and explain :
 - (a) How and why, even outside the USSR. "Prayers are often forgotten in the business of daily life."
 - (b) How rural life in non-Catholic India is ruled by a quasi-religious calendar.
 - (c) What Catholic prayers are specially directed to help our farmers.

5. Read section 5 and explain :
 - (a) How do Communists explain the practice of religion in socialistic society ?
 - (b) Why, according to Communists, is religion an obstacle to the progress of society ?
6. (a) Why do Communists divide the population of a country into different age groups for their anti-God campaign ? (sec. 6).
 - (b) Explain how some people, in the USSR, have lost their Faith. (sec. 6).
 - (c) Do you know of any Catholics who have given up their Faith to better their social or economic position ?
7. (a) Explain the tactics of Communists when dealing with elderly people. (sec. 7).
 - (b) Do you think that in India the elder members of the family have a hold on the younger ones ?
8. Explain how, in the USSR, persons of the middle-age group have been tricked by the Communists. (sec. 9).
9. (a) How do Communists explain the failure of their anti-God war in the case of some Believers ? (sec. 11)?
 - (b) Explain how Communists use conferences, discussions and cultural activities to fight religion. (sec. 12).
 - (c) Do you know of any Soviet Cultural delegations sent to India ?
10. Read section 13 and explain :
 - (a) How Communists make atheists of the young ?
 - (b) Why, according to Communists, these young people do not make good militant Communists ?
11. How is the Communist teacher expected to deal with children ? (sec. 14).
12. What is the Communist view of the veneration of icons ? (sec. 15). How would you refute their views ?
13. Explain the religious significance of Christian marriage. Show how Atheistic Communism attempts to destroy marriage. (sec. 21).
14. Do you know of any Eastern European Countries in which religious ceremonies at marriage are replaced by Communist ceremonies ?
15. Read section 25. Is there any real conflict between science and religion ? Explain your answer.
16. Read section 27 and explain :
 - (a) The Nature of Communistic humanism.
 - (b) Why do Communists help the poor and those in want ?
17. Read section 28 and explain :
 - (a) The Communist view of creation.
 - (b) The materialistic concept of the world.

OUR GROWING POPULATION

The population of India during the decade 1951-61 has grown by 21.49 per cent from 359 millions to about 438 millions, (the exact figure being 436,424,429, excluding the populations of Manipur, Nagaland and NEFA, where compilation is not yet complete). This great spurt in growth that has belied the estimates and the expectations of the Planning Commission and other population experts and research bodies will not generally be welcome news in the country. The Planning Commission had in mind a popu-

lation of 431 millions while drafting the third plan. Coale and Hoover in their interesting study on the mutual interaction of economic development and population growth had projected a population of 424 millions for 1961 with no reduction in the rate of fertility. Other research institutes had produced even lower estimates.

The following table gives a brief conspectus of the actual growth of the population for the various States and for the country as a whole.

| State | Total Population | Males | Females | Percentage Increase | Females per 1000 males |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Andhra Pradesh | 35,977,999 | 18,175,349 | 17,802,650 | 15.63 | 979 |
| Assam | 11,360,059 | 6,318,229 | 5,541,830 | 34.30 | 877 |
| Bihar | 46,457,042 | 23,328,178 | 23,128,864 | 19.78 | 991 |
| Gujarat | 20,621,283 | 10,636,470 | 9,984,813 | 26.80 | 939 |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 3,583,585 | 1,902,902 | 1,680,673 | 9.73 | 883 |
| Kerala | 16,875,199 | 8,345,879 | 8,529,302 | 24.55 | 1,028 |
| Madhya Pradesh | 32,394,375 | 16,598,526 | 15,795,849 | 24.25 | 952 |
| Madras | 33,650,917 | 16,915,454 | 16,735,463 | 11.73 | 989 |
| Maharashtra | 39,504,294 | 20,419,059 | 19,085,235 | 23.44 | 935 |
| Mysore | 23,547,081 | 12,021,248 | 11,525,833 | 21.36 | 959 |
| Orissa | 17,565,645 | 8,772,194 | 8,793,451 | 19.94 | 1,002 |
| Punjab | 20,298,151 | 10,866,910 | 9,431,241 | 25.80 | 868 |
| Rajasthan | 20,146,173 | 10,558,138 | 9,588,035 | 26.14 | 908 |
| Uttar Pradesh | 73,752,914 | 38,664,463 | 35,088,451 | 16.67 | 908 |
| West Bengal | 39,967,634 | 18,611,085 | 16,356,549 | 32.94 | 879 |
| All India | 436,424,429 | 224,957,948 | 211,466,481 | 21.49 | 940 |

What are the causes of this unprecedented growth of the population, a growth that has outstripped all the estimates? It is generally believed that the main reason is the fall in the mortality rates due to the improvements in medical care, sanitation and sewage. Most probably the standard of living is rising fast enough to provide our people with a better and more varied diet. The great epidemics like plague, cholera, chicken-pox, influenza, malaria, have been or are being held in check. In general the health of the population has improved greatly, and for this there should be no regrets. It is indeed a proud achievement for the country, and for the international agencies like the WHO that have as their essential aim to bring about such desirable conditions.

Given the presence of such factors at work, it was to be expected that the population would rise. This is nothing unusual. As a matter of fact it is common demographic theory that in the under-developed countries of the world, a great expansion of the population is bound to occur as soon as the benefits of

modern medical science and health schemes reach them. But while it has been easy to reduce the mortality rate, it is not possible to reduce the birth rate with the same rapidity and effectiveness. The birth rate is determined by a variety of factors the most important being the decision of the partners in marriage, the social customs and religious traditions of the people. And these attitudes cannot be changed overnight, especially where the large masses of people are not literate and have no direct consciousness of the problem. With the growing industrialisation of the country and the increasing expense of having and rearing children, the small family might gradually replace the large family. But this will take time. And thus there will be a lag between the mortality and the fertility rates, causing an increase in the total population.

Unemployment

The draft of the Third Plan had in view a population of 431 millions in 1961. This figure will have to be revised to include the seven million more persons counted by the Census. The consequences for the plan will include an

enlargement of the consumption factor and a slightly higher percentage of employment opportunities. Nor can we expect the per capita income to rise at the predicted rate, unless the national income grows faster.

The Sex Ratio

A peculiar facet of our growing population is the increasing disparity of the ratio of females to males. This has been occurring from the year 1901. While in the year 1951, there were 946 females to one thousand males, in 1961, there were 940 females to one thousand males. This is the overall figure. The sex ratio in the urban areas has fallen in much the same way. The Registrar General notes in his report that "while there has been a noticeable general decline in the sex-ratio during 1951-61 in the urban population, there is a marked difference in the sex-ratio between the three States of Andhra, Madras and Mysore in the south on the one hand, in none of which the sex-ratio goes down below 900, and the States north of these three on the other. This doubtless indicates differences in the growth and sociological structure of urban areas of the

South and North and suggests the greater stability or inertia, whichever way one chooses to call it, in many behavioural patterns of urban areas in the South." No official explanation is offered of the deteriorating sex-ratio.

The States

Another striking feature is the disparity of the rate of population increase in the various States. Both in West Bengal and Assam the increase has been almost phenomenal, over 34 and 32 percent respectively. Rajasthan and Gujerat come next in order, with Punjab, Kerala and Madhya Pradesh following closely. The much slower rate of increase in Madras has caused surprise, and the Registrar General finds himself baffled in trying to find the reason. The extraordinary rise of the population in such States as West Bengal and Assam is quite probably due to rapid immigration from other parts of the country and the influx of refugees from Pakistan. It is further likely that the more industrialised States are attracting people from beyond their borders. All this goes to prove the increasing mobility of the population within the country.

As between districts within each State, variations in the increase of population have been found to occur. There is no even growth throughout a State. "There are appreciable variations in the rates of growth among zones and States and even among well-defined areas within a State." says the Registrar General. He concludes that "The picture is more a mosaic than a uniform tone."

The Growth in Cities

Out of a total population of 436,424,429 (excluding as said above, the populations of Manipur, Nagaland and NEFA,) the rural population is 358,584,529 and the urban population 77,839,900. This works out to a proportion of 82.62 percent and 17.38 per cent respectively. In other words judging from the figures as given, there does not seem to have been any increase in urbanisation during the last decade. Is this conclusion warranted from concomitant sources within the Census itself like the great population movement towards the industrial areas? There seems to be some confusion in defining the extent and area of the conglomeration usually

called a city. There has been a change in the connotation of the term as understood in the present Census. This seems to be obvious from the fact that whereas Calcutta is said to have a population of about 2.5 millions, Bombay's population is over 4 millions. But then the area included in Bombay City is the area now comprised under Greater Bombay, while for Calcutta only the area covered by the Corporation has been taken into account. The idea behind the peculiar manner of computing the area of the city is to help in the integral treatment of such agglomerations by both the local bodies and the Government. If the 1951 area of Calcutta City be taken into consideration, the population is really 5.6 millions, and instead of the increase being merely 8.4, it is really 19.9 as compared with that of 1951.

It seems to be a pity that the Census authorities should have adopted this method of computing the populations in our cities, because it does lead to a false perspective of the growth of urbanisation during the last ten years. All indications seem to point to the rapid growth of the industrialisation of the country and

this certainly means an increased rate of our growth of our urban centres. It is quite possible that gradually a truer picture will emerge when the details of the Census are revealed.

Labour Force

In view of the rapid growth of the population during the decade there will certainly be a renewed clamour for a drastic reduction of the birth rate. It is a good thing that

the people should be population conscious. It is obvious too that smaller families should be the rule. But let us not forget that it is as important that our population should be technically equipped to produce on a much larger scale. It is the education and the training of our workers that will help us to abolish poverty. This positive attitude is often neglected, but is by far the most important.

STATEMENTS

THE CHURCH AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF NATIONS

Under this title, Rev. Fr. Jerome D'Souza spoke to the General Assembly at Munich during the Eucharistic Congress in August, 1960. He first pointed out to his audience that he was speaking of material, not religious or spiritual advancement. "We are not strictly concerned," he said, "with the safeguarding of the eternal interests of souls, but with the promotion of temporal welfare, with those activities in the political, social and economic spheres which are essential for the physical well-being of man both individually and collectively. Another way of describing this advancement would be the creating of external conditions for what is known as the 'good life'. With this working definition we are confronted at once with the initial difficulty of this enquiry. There is the classic doctrine of the Church about the two perfect societies, the Church and the State, the one spiritual and the other temporal, each inde-

pendent and competent in its proper sphere, the Church to promote spiritual welfare, the State to promote temporal well-being. "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's." With objectives so clearly defined and the certainty that the State would always resent and exclude jealously anything like 'clerical interference' in its affairs, how can we define in theory and insert in practice the role of the Church in the maintenance and promotion of material well-being?

The first and the most obvious place of insertion is the sphere of ideas. What constitutes temporal welfare? Is what is really good for the common man clear to everyone beyond doubt and criticism? As long as the State confined itself to the minimum functions of what is called maintenance of law and order, of ensuring conditions of internal peace and exter-

nal safety, there might be no serious area of disagreement. But with the widening conception of the functions of Government, namely that of ensuring the 'good life' in its entirety to its subjects, when the State tends to become more and more the 'Welfare State', leaders of the State and administrators must necessarily pass '*judgements of value*', form moral estimates of what is good and what is bad in the thousand aspects of human life which fall under the purview of Governments. Moreover in almost all States there are Catholic subjects who fall under the jurisdiction of the Church. What is good for them even in the natural order cannot be dissociated from the supernatural order since we must not only find out what things are good in themselves but also observe the right hierarchy of values among those many good things. Now the Church is the supreme guardian and authority in the definition and the safeguarding of truths both natural and supernatural. All Governments must therefore accept the *magisterium of the Church* in regard to these judgements of value. The Church has pre-

cedence over civil society not only because of the nobler end which she pursues, but also because she has authority over civil society in the sphere of doctrine."

The Church and Temporal Welfare

Fr. D'Souza after briefly referring to the many accepted beliefs and opinions of what could be termed 'advanced circles' in modern countries, and the false doctrine of human progress culminating in the atheistic humanism of the Marxists, outlined the Church's teaching on temporal welfare.

"She believes," he said, that "in the relative perfectibility of human nature under the influence of grace; in the objectivity and the essential goodness of the material world, which reveals in varying degrees God's perfections. God created the world and "saw it was good". The unlimited riches of the material order, on the surface and within the bowels of the earth, were created and stored by a loving Providence for the use of man "created to the image of God" and destined to feed and cloth God Himself when He became

Man. The Incarnation and all that it implies of re-creation and divinisation of the material order, is the central fact in Christian optimism and doctrine of progress. With the spread of the Church and her doctrines of justice and brotherhood, we can be sure of a certain progress in the temporal order which is quite consistent with the doctrine of Original Sin and with teaching of St. Paul concerning the enslavement of physical nature to the passions of men. In the Old Testament material prosperity was a mark of divine blessings. Christianity has not completely reversed this order, though the life of Christ has given poverty and suffering a new significance. Those who observe the law of God perfectly have their "hundred-fold" in some ways even in this life, and also life eternal. Bellarmine included a certain degree of material prosperity as one of the marks of the true Church. Only the Christian standard of values must be rigorously maintained....

Personal Dignity and Human Authority

Coming to more concrete points, let me enumerate some doctrines of special im-

port essential for the progress of man. First, the dignity and worth of the human person, and the spiritual equality of man and woman without any reference to race and colour. On this point the declarations of the Church from St. Paul who said that there was no longer Jew and Gentile, Greek or Barbarian, to the burning denunciation of Racism by Pius XI against the Nazi doctrine, and the last significant words and gestures of John XXIII towards the people of Asia and Africa, are of singular consistency. Along with the teaching on the dignity and status of woman is the doctrine of monogamy and the indissolubility of marriage based upon natural and supernatural grounds. Then comes the unequivocal teaching on the family as the primary social unit. The body of doctrine on marriage and the family are of the highest importance in the promotion of social progress in backward countries and it is teaching which is opposed by many modern sociologists. It includes opposition to divorce and birth control. It emphasizes the true nature of authority, authority of the husband over the wife, of the

parents over the children. It involves recognition of the parents' rights in the education of children. Parental authority is a participation of divine authority and should be exercised with love. And the same spirit should animate political rulers because the authority of Government, to be exercised for the common good, comes from God and is subject to moral law. While therefore the Church has no quarrel with those who regard democracy as the highest type of Government and wish to make it an element in the advancement of nations, the Church affirms that the authority of even a democratic Government does not come from the will of the people, 'la volonté générale' of Rousseau, but from the natural law, God giving to the representatives chosen by the people the power necessary for their functions. Thus the doctrine of "the sovereignty of the people" and the obedience due to Government must be understood in the Christian sense as explained by the great thinkers of the sixteenth century.

A Pluralistic Society

What we have said about

the dignity and liberty of the individual, about the family, about the source and true nature of political authority, shows how irrevocably opposed to Catholic doctrine is Totalitarianism. Catholicism favours a pluralistic concept of Society where both individual liberty and freedom of association are safeguarded. It is in the light of these principles that we should study the teaching of the Church on economic problems and the nature of economic progress, — the right to private property, to a just family wage, to Trade Unionism, and so forth. It is because the Communistic State resumes and concentrates in itself fundamental errors in the religious, social and economic order that the opposition between itself and the Church is irreconcilable.

Fr. D'Souza then went to point out the reasons for the direct involvement of the Church in the sphere of material progress. "In the first place," he said, "the success of the spiritual mission of the Church among men depends to some extent on the degree of material well-being which they enjoy. She cannot ordinarily preach her doc-

trine except in places where law and order prevail and where men are relatively free from such hunger and sickness as make it impossible for people to give attention to higher things. In this, the Church follows the example of the Divine Master who healed the sick, fed the hungry, and comforted the afflicted even before he preached to them. But the improvement of material conditions is not merely a preparation for the preaching of Christianity, a kind of conditioning of the field for the sowing of the seed. It is also a part of the exercise and practice of Christian virtue when the Faith has been accepted. The practice of what are called the "corporal works of mercy" is an integral part of Christian perfection...."

The Socio-economic Sphere

To be especially noted in circumstances of today is the activity of the Church in the socio-economic sphere. Her object in this — apart from the basic care for justice as such — is the desire to safeguard the rights of the individual and the claims of the family as the primary social unit. To these ends converge all the declarations

of the Church in regard to private property, a just wage, the indissolubility of marriage, the opposition to birth control and materialistic eugenics; her interest in housing, in co-operatives, in community projects and rural reconstruction. Her achievements in these spheres in past and present times are scarcely known to the multitude and would cause astonishment if studied in detail. It includes such an astonishing experiment as that of the Reductions of Paraguay, a "Vanished Arcadia" as Cunningham-Grahame called it — where the missionaries established a kind of agricultural republic based upon work and the exchange of goods without the use of money. Then there are remarkable examples of the transformation of primitive peoples in Africa and among the aborigines of India, a process in which conversion was but the beginning, leading to education, to co-operative farming and credit, to the formation of a social conscience which has brought about even political maturity. The most striking examples of this are in Chota Nagpur in India, in the Congo, in the West Indies, and in other

parts of the missionary world. Indeed the Church has made the co-operative ideal her own as against the collectivist ideal of the Marxists. The Co-operative Institute of Anti-gonish has acquired a worldwide reputation. Its experts are consulted by Governments who have in hand schemes of rural improvement. In the world of labour, Catholic Social Institutes, with the part they play in the organisation of labour on Catholic lines, are increasing in number and efficiency. We may also mention here as being very much in the spirit of the Church the far-reaching social initiatives of Leon Harmel who was inspired by the teaching of the Popes, particularly by "Rerum-Novarum".

The Emancipation of Woman

But one other aspect of social improvement needs to be especially recorded even in this brief and inadequate summary: what the Church has done and continues to do for the emancipation of woman and the recognition of her place in society. Honour and respect for woman is one of the finest flowers of Christian civilization, often absent even in the best of other civilizations. The passionate

devotion of Christendom to Our Lady, Virgin and Mother, has been the inspirer and norm for this indispensable element in the true advancement of nations. It was reflected in idealised worship of woman which was one of the noblest features of chivalry. The Church in the mission countries has been assiduous in the service of woman. Her marriage legislation enforcing monogamy and indissolubility has operated tremendously in favour of the status of women. Her action in other ways may be best illustrated by her work in India. She has opposed child marriage for girls and enforced widowhood for unhappy childwives. She has been the pioneer in the education of women. Her homes of rescue for fallen women have elicited the praise of even those not in favour of missionary work. The very example of the work and devotion of the Religious Orders of Women has been an element in the remarkable upsurge of women's activity that is a feature of New India.

Education

There is another field of human effort where the civi-

lising role of the Church appears is an exceptionally bright light — her function as educator both in Christian and in mission countries. It is part of Christian humanism to desire to see man develop to the fullest height not only in the material and spiritual order, but also in the intellectual. Even in the purely spiritual sphere she is an indirect promoter of the finest culture. She uses exquisite forms of art in her worship and liturgy — music, painting, sculpture, architecture — and the domestic arts like printing, embroidery, metal work. Wherever she establishes her cult, the sense of beauty is cultivated; the decencies of social intercourse are promoted; the events of daily life, — birth, marriage and death, — are enobled and elevated by noble sentiments.

But apart from this, the Church has her share in the pursuit of scientific and moral truth, in the refinement and cultivation of the intelligence, in the extension of the bounds of knowledge. She can say that she is "human": *nihil humani ab ea alienum*. She saved for Christendom its heritage of classical culture during the invasions of the

Barbarians. She was the mother of the Schools and Universities of the Middle Ages. She was the munificent patron of the New Learning at the time of the Renaissance. Except for occasional tragic misunderstandings as in the case of Galileo, she was the fosterer of scientific inquiry from Copernicus to Mendel. Nowhere does this role of educator appear to such advantage as in the educational field not only among backward races but also among countries of ancient civilization in Asia. The missionaries of the Church have done throughout the centuries what UNESCO is trying to do, acting as promoters of learning and agents in the exchange and diffusion of knowledge. In many languages theirs were the first grammars and dictionaries; in others they developed the script and phonetic transcription. They gave to Europe her first knowledge of Sanskrit and its literature, of the civilization and culture of China. They were pioneers in the development of prose literature in many of the languages of India. Men like Ricci, Thomas Stephens, and Joseph Beschi mastered the most difficult languages of the East to the

point of writing works which today are considered classics in Chinese, in Marathi, and in Tamil. A large number of the political leaders of resurgent Asia and awakening Africa were students of mission schools.

Professional and Technical Education

In more recent times this share in the educational work in mission territories has been amplified by the development of professional and technical education which has a close bearing on the assistance to backward countries. The Church conducts schools of medicine, engineering, and agriculture, and lower grade technical schools in large numbers. Obviously this is a harder undertaking both as regards personnel and expense than the provision of a literary and philosophical education. It is at a relatively early stage of its evolution. I believe its growth will depend a great deal on chances of more extensive aid to missions on the part of laymen. Its possibilities are widest in the field of medical training and medical service, because this has a more direct connection with the expression of Christian charity and can be

more easily thought of in terms of a spiritual vocation. Admittedly the Protestant Missions have been earlier and more advanced than Catholics in this field but the deficiency is being rapidly made up. A great help has been the raising of the ban on the practice of medicine by Religious and the founding of Religious Congregations of medical missionaries. I cannot but refer here to the remarkable achievements of the Austrian Nun and Foundress, Mother Dengal happily still with us, whose initiative is dotting India with first rate hospitals, directed by Nuns with the highest competence in medicine, surgery, and nursing.

The Third Reason

This description of the complex education work of the Church brings us to the consideration of the third reason for the direct participation of the Church in the work of the material advancement of nations. We noted the need for a degree of material well-being for the apt fulfilment of the spiritual mission of the Church. We then studied the impact of Catholic charity and the obligation of practising the cor-

poral works of mercy on the physical miseries of races and individuals. The third reason is the Christian concept of a pluralistic society, the opposition of the Church to Totalitarianism, and to the monopolising of all activities in the temporal order by the totalitarian State. *Liberty is not safeguarded and the human personality does not receive its fullest development unless individuals and lesser groupings are allowed to carry out activities in the economic and cultural order which they can do more effectively than the impersonal state.* This doctrine has been repeated again and again in the great Encyclicals on the problems of labour and private enterprise. In the field of education the argument is even more compelling. The family and the Church have rights which the State may not abrogate. Progress in the eyes of the Church and indeed true progress is not constituted by the regimented efficiency of the monolithic or police state, but by the development of individual initiative in conditions of social and political liberty.

The Welfare State

Against this ideal of a pluralistic society based on

free enterprise and private initiative is the growing concept of the Welfare State which should not be confused with the Totalitarian State though it tends towards it. States whose political machinery is democratic claim to be or work towards being Welfare States. We said at the outset that the functions of Government were being widened so as to include not merely the maintenance of law and order but to the offering of the "good life" to the citizen. The amenities comprised under the good life in modern times are so many and so massive that private groups and individuals can no longer provide them. Moreover if the resources of backward countries are to be developed rapidly so as to give their people a fair standard of living, they may need to be exploited by state enterprise. Private citizens in those countries have not the means required for such exploitation. Finally certain enterprises as Pope Pius XI declared in "Quadragesimo Anno" are too dangerous to be left to the competitive appetites of the individual. Metallurgy and the manufacture of armaments are a case in point.

The International Community

What is true for the life of the nations has become equally true for the international community. The UN Organization and the great autonomous bodies circling round the UN, UNESCO, WHO, ILO, FAO and so on, have taken upon themselves a large part of the activity which private philanthropic agencies used to carry out in former times, chief among them being the missionary. What should our attitude to all these be? The answer is not in doubt. Both on the national plane and on the international, the directives of the Popes in recent times is to collaborate in every useful activity, and by an active participation of Catholics to diminish the possibility of imposing upon the masses those norms of material advancement which we noted as being opposed to Catholic principles.

It is in the interests of such co-operation that the Church makes the unequivocal affirmation of the right of the Hierarchy to guide the Catholics in their political and social programmes wherever they impinge on the doctrinal grounds which we

summarised earlier. Such declarations sometimes provoke an outcry about clerical interference in politics. But the policy of the Church is all of a piece. It is part of the effort of the Church to bring religion back into the public life of Christian people, to end the divorce between morality and state policy, and the utter secularization of public life which has brought disaster to Christendom. It is in that same spirit that the Holy See urges Clerics and Religious to fulfil their civic obligations, to take part in elections, and where possible even to participate in the public life of their countries where party politics are not involved. On the one hand laymen are invited to enter more and more into the ranks of the apostolate and their role in it is being studied in all its theological implications. Its natural counterpart is that Clerics are invited to take their due part in the temporal affairs of the city. They constitute the two sides of the same movement of unification.

The Under-developed Countries

Coming to the schemes of assistance to underdeveloped

countries with which we are more directly concerned, let me begin with a preliminary remark on colonialism. Starting from the de facto existence of colonies, Pope Pius XII on many occasions explained clearly the obligation of the imperial powers to govern the colonies in the interests of the governed and not for the exploitation of their resources for the good of the metropolis, to the right of the colony or protectorate to political liberty and freedom from aggression by other powers as soon as the people show capacity to manage their own affairs. "In the reorganizing of the world on the basis of moral principles" he said in a Radio Message in 1941, "we should avoid everything opposed to the liberty, the integrity, and security of any nation however small and undefended it may be." As to economic and technical aid to underdeveloped countries, Pius XI had already explained the right of the underdeveloped countries to such assistance based on the common interests and solidarity of the world community. Pius XII emphasized the right to have such assistance — and this is a crucial point — without injury to the political and economic free-

dom of the backward nation. "Social Justice" said Pius XI in "Quadragesimo Anno", "should penetrate the institutions, and life itself of entire nations. Its active efficacy should manifest itself in the creation of a juridical and social order which should inform the entire economic order.... It is becoming therefore that the different nations so closely united and interdependent in the economic sphere, should pool together their wisdom and their strength to hasten, by means of wisely planned institutions and agreements, an era of beneficent and happy international economic collaboration." Let me sum up the teaching of the last two Popes on this point: The assistance should consist of technical advice and the investment of capital; it should not leave the aided country in a position of material and moral dependence leading to frustration. The industrialization of backward countries should not involve the errors of European economic liberalism and should pay attention to the human problems arising from an industrial revolution. The assistance to those backward countries which may also happen to be overpopulat-

ed should include the right to migration to unoccupied or sparsely occupied parts of the world.

Personalism

But it would not be proper to conclude this expose leaving you before the image of the Welfare State and of the International Organisations, formidable examples of official, impersonal and organized charity. We must go back to the basic attitude of the Church to consider individuals as ends in themselves, to direct all her activity to the end that the individual person may attain the fullest human and spiritual perfection of which he is capable. In other words we must come back to the "personalism" of the Church's conception of the temporal good and the advancement of peoples. We said that the Incarnation is the key to the understanding of the Church's attitude to the material world. God became involved in the world of matter, and thus divinised not only the handful of matter which He assumed for His Body, but by implication, in a mysterious way the entire world of matter. "The World was made Flesh". We in our turn must strive to see that

morally speaking man and human institutions "incarnate" Christ. As He is the Life, He is also the Way. We cannot save individuals and advance nations except by the way that Christ saved them, by unwearied personal love and sacrifice. The impersonal service of "organized charity" will not satisfy men. We shall not be fulfilling our duty of love and service by saying that as citizens of the Welfare State we have paid our taxes, and that beggars and needy people, the sick and the abandoned, have official agencies to go to for succour. They want not only our help, they want us, our Christian love and understanding. That is the substance of the splendid Christmas message of Pope Pius XII in 1952. The charity of the Christian, he said, should resemble the charity of God who came in person to bring His help to mankind. That is why the Church will always strive to preserve those areas of beneficence where men serve others not in the fulfilment of an official duty but as the expression of a personal love, the love of Christ for His brethren. "As long as you did it to the least of these my brethren you did it to me."

THEORY TO PRACTICE

SELF-HELP SLUM CLEARANCE PROJECT IN TRIVANDRUM

An interesting and significant slum-clearance and community rehabilitation project has been launched by Msgr. Peter B. Pereira, the Auxiliary Bishop of the Latin Diocese of Trivandrum, with financial assistance from MISEREOR, the German Bishops' "Campaign Against Hunger and Disease in the World." The Project attempts to combine the principle of self-help through voluntary labour with scientific Community Planning and house design, and will bear study for possible imitation elsewhere in India. The overall approach to the Project was formulated by James J. Berna, S. J., of the Indian Social Institute's Extension Service. House designs and Community Master Plan have been drawn up by Rene F. Eyheralde, Consultant in Village Housing and Community Planning. The Ford Foundation, whose services have

been made available to the Project by the Foundation. The slum being cleared is the Kunnukhuzy Colony, a small slum in the heart of Trivandrum, the capital of Kerala.

Present conditions

The Kunnukhuzy Colony comprises 121 huts and houses occupying 8.41 acres of land near the Palayam Junction in Trivandrum. Total population of the colony is slightly more than 1000 persons. Nearly 40% of the population is crowded into a badly congested area about 2 acres in size near the centre of the colony. Slum conditions in this area are particularly bad. A few of the present houses meet minimum conditions of health and decency but at least 75% are semi-dilapidated huts of sun-dried brick and thatch. Many of these huts are badly over-crowded and lack adequate light and

ventilation. In its general appearance the colony resembles a country village more than a neighbourhood in a modern city. Basic sanitation facilities are lacking. Only a very few houses have latrines. The only source of water is an open, poorly protected well and three public water taps. There are no paved streets in the colony, which lies below the level of the surrounding streets so that no vehicles can enter it. A social-economic survey carried out in the colony reveals that most of the population are dependent on coolie work, fish-mongering, and other types of uncertain and casual employment. Unemployment is high and incomes correspondingly low.

The Project

The Project aims at improving living conditions in the Colony by providing 39 modern low cost houses laid out according to a scientific Community Master Plan on the two most congested acres in the centre of the colony. More houses may be constructed later if and when additional property is acquired. In the meantime most of the

slum will have been eliminated since conditions in the rest of the colony are considerably better.

The Project has two basic aims which are considered of equal importance: (1) Replacement of the present inadequate huts with new modern houses; and (2) rehabilitation of the human community by fostering a sense of responsibility towards improvement of the colony. This is done by requiring families who wish to participate in the project to contribute labour for making the bricks needed for construction of the new houses. These bricks are soil-blocks made with an Ellson Block-Master Machine which has been placed in the colony for the purpose. Families are assisted in the brick-making process by a team of Volunteers provided by Service Civil International* who have taken up residence in the colony, and by volunteers from local organizations around the city. In addition to contributing labour, families are required to repay the monetary cost of the house in easy installments over a twenty year period,

* See SOCIAL ACTION, March 1960. p.134.

after which ownership of the houses will pass to the families. (Cf. attached Rules for Participating in the Project.)

PROGRESS to March 31, 1961

1. House Construction

Construction of houses was begun in October, 1960, with the arrival of the Team of Service Civil International Volunteers. The first three houses were completed during March, 1961:— one single block and one double (2 unit) block near the entrance to the colony. Four more houses (a 4-unit block) are now under construction. The single block is a large unit (622 square feet of plinth area) intended to serve as a Community Centre until later in the programme when it will be turned over to one of the large family groups. It contains three rooms, kitchen, store room, bath and latrine, as well as an interior veranda opening on to the enclosed court yard. The final cost was Rs. 2552.26 or Rs. 4.10 per sq. ft. The double block consists of 2 houses each measuring 543.1 square feet of plinth area and containing 2 large rooms, a third room which

can be used either as store or bed room, kitchen, bath, latrine and veranda opening on to an enclosed court yard. The cost of each unit in the double block was Rs. 2153 or Rs. 3.96 per square foot. Roofs are constructed of asbestos-cement sheets. (For detailed data on cost of the house cf. attached cost account.)

The houses are of an advanced design specially developed for the project by Mr. Rene F. Eyheralde. Two special features of construction are: (1) the ventilation system designed to keep the houses cool despite the asbestos sheet roofs; and (2) the use of four inch soil-block walls made possible by the fact that pillars are used to carry the entire roof load. Walls and pillars are made of 12" × 9" × 4" blocks made in the Ellson Block-Master, Machine, set on edge.

2. Use of Voluntary Labour

All blocks used in the houses, were made by the SCI volunteers working with local volunteers from Kunnukhuzy colony or from various organizations in the city, notably the Catholic Action Society, the Social Action Society, and

the Bharat Sevak Samaj. These volunteers also provided some of the other unskilled labour involved in construction such as levelling the site, digging foundations, etc.

When construction of the first three houses was well under way, a group of five families was selected to participate in the next phase of the programme, the construction of the 4-unit block now being built. (It is necessary to build houses in groups by shifting families, demolishing their huts and building in the area thus cleared because of lack of open space in the colony.) Since February the SCI volunteers have been working with these families and other local volunteers to make the blocks needed for the next 4 houses. This operation has now been almost completed. The participation of the families in the block-making process has not been entirely satisfactory. This appears to be due to the following causes: (1) the difficulty of adjusting work sessions to times when family members are free from other duties; (2) the small number

of able-bodied men and women among the five families selected; and (3) a certain amount of disbelief among the families that they are really going to be allowed to move into the new houses. The families have had representatives at the work sessions with fair regularity, however, even if the number of hours worked per day has not come up to original hopes. It is expected that the response will improve as families see their neighbours actually moving into new houses which they have helped to build. It should be noted that one family not included in the first five has nevertheless helped to make blocks with great regularity.

3. Construction of the 4-unit block

In mid-March three of the families included in the first group were shifted temporarily into the 3 new houses near the entrance to the colony. Their huts (which were among the worst in the colony) were demolished and construction of the 4-unit block has been begun in the cleared space thus obtained.

4. Community Organisation and Social Education Programme

In order to create a sense of community consciousness, and to prepare the families to live properly in their new houses various activities and organizations have been introduced into the colony, several of them by the SCI volunteers. An athletic club has been formed among the young men, and an evening school for teaching the younger children. English draws about 80 pupils every evening for two hours. This school is conducted and taught by the older educated boys. A full-time lady social worker has been engaged to work among the women and girls. In addition to visiting houses to help them with their problems,

she conducts a nursery school in the Community Centre and holds classes in sewing, good-housekeeping, etc. three afternoons a week for the women of the colony. These classes are attended regularly by approximately 28 women of the colony. Some miscellaneous activities such as a small dispensary, distribution of milk to children and film shows dealing with health, sanitation, etc. have also been introduced.

5. Rules governing Participation of Families in the Project

The following rules, printed in Malayalam, were distributed to all families in the colony and were explained and discussed in several meetings :

“This is a *SELF-HELP* Project — i.e. an effort by the People of Kunnukhuzy to build for *themselves* new houses and a better community.

If the people of Kunnukhuzy Colony decide to make this effort the Bishop's Trivandrum Social Service Society and the Volunteers of Service Civil International are ready to help them. The Trivandrum Social Service Society and the Volunteers will cooperate only on the following conditions :

1. Each family which participates in the project must make the bricks needed for its new house.
The Trivandrum Social Service Society will provide a brick-making machine and the soil needed.
The Volunteers will help families to make bricks.

2. Each family must also agree to help as much as it can with the actual building of the house : i.e. with excavation of the foundations, clearing and levelling the site, carrying bricks to the site, and such other work as they are capable of.

The Volunteers will organize and help with this work.

3. The cost of the new house must be paid by the family which will own it over a 20-year period in 240 equal monthly instalments. (These instalments will not exceed Rs. 10 per month.)
4. While construction of its new house is going on, the women and older children of the family must agree to attend such classes in home-economics, good house-keeping, etc. as shall be organized for them by Trivandrum Social Service Society.
5. Before moving into their new house each family must agree to remove its present house from the property, disposing of the materials by sale or otherwise as they desire.
6. When the cost of the house has been paid back the house will be owned by the family which has built and occupies it. The land on which the houses are located will eventually be owned jointly by all families through a co-operative society to be organized for that purpose. Until houses are paid off in full they shall remain mortgaged to the Trivandrum Social Service Society.
7. All houses must be built according to plans approved by Trivandrum Social Service Society and located according to the Master Plan worked out for the Community as a whole.
8. To help the people of Kunnukhuzy make this project a success Trivandrum Social Service Society will help to establish cottage industries and social services in

Kunnukhuzy which will raise incomes and improve living conditions.

9. A "Brick Bank" will also be started to help poor families who are unable to make all the bricks needed for their house. Bricks will be made by volunteers from the Catholic Action Society, by students, etc. and contributed to poor families. "Brick Bank" Bricks will also be used to build the Community Centre.

MOTTO: SELF-HELP MAKES BETTER PEOPLE !

The People of Kunnukhuzy + The Bishop's Social Service Society + Service Civil International Volunteers + WORK = A New & Beautiful Kunnukhuzy !

LET'S ALL WORK TOGETHER FOR A NEW KUNNUKHUZY !

ESTIMATE OF ACTUAL EXPENDITURE FOR THE DOUBLE BLOCK HOUSE AT KUNNUKHUZY.

| Item No. | Quantity | Particulars of work | Rate | | Unit | Amount | |
|----------|----------------|--|-------|-----|-------------|--------|-----|
| | | | Rs. | nP. | | Rs. | nP. |
| 1. | 1365.35 c. ft. | Rubble in mud for the foundation and basement. | | | | | |
| 2. | L. S. | Filling in the basement with sea sand conveyed from Sunkumugham. | 28 | 00 | 100 c. ft. | 382 | 09 |
| | | | L. S. | | L. S. | 8 | 00 |
| 3. | 712.17 c. ft. | Sun dried blocks in mud mortar for super structure. | 20 | 00 | 100 c. ft. | 142 | 00 |
| 4. | 195.75 sq. ft. | Supplying and fitting doors without ventilators. | 2 | 75 | Per sq. ft. | 538 | 31 |
| 5. | 171.00 do. | Supplying and fitting windows without ventilators. | 3 | 00 | do. | 513 | 00 |
| 6. | 53.00 do. | Supplying and fitting ventilators. | 3 | 25 | do. | 172 | 25 |
| 7. | 1526 do. | Supplying and fitting asbestos roofing sheets over 4 1/2" x 1 1/4" rafters 1 1/2" x 2" reepers and 4" x 2" wall plates etc., complete. | 1 | 00 | do. | 1526 | 00 |

| Quantity. | Particulars of work | Rate | | Unit | Amount | |
|----------------|---|------|-----|-------------|--------|-----|
| | | Rs. | nP. | | Rs. | nP. |
| | BF. | | | | 3281 | 65 |
| 66 R. ft. | Supplying and fitting ridge specials. | 2 | 00 | do. | 132 | 00 |
| 1698.7 sq. ft. | Plastering the walls inside and outside with combination mortar including white washing 2 coats. | 10 | 00 | 100 do. | 169 | 87 |
| 945.90 do. | Flooring with brick paved to 3" depth and plastered with cement mortar 1:3 1/2" thick one coat only. | 33 | 00 | do. | 312 | 14 |
| 251 R. ft. | Bordering the plinth with cement mortar. | 0 | 20 | per. R. ft. | 50 | 20 |
| 376.5 sq. ft. | Pointing rubble masonry with cement mortar. | 6 | 00 | 100 sq. ft. | 22 | 59 |
| 3 Nos. | Making wooden Brackets including fitting etc. complete. | 4 | 00 | each | 12 | 00 |
| 35 R. ft. | Providing coping with brick in lime 1:3, 3" thick and plastered with cement mortar 1:3, 1/2" thick one coat only. | 0 | 50 | per. R. ft. | 17 | 50 |
| 2 Nos. | Providing closet connections including fitting 4" S. W. pipes and specials etc. complete. | 100 | 00 | each | 200 | 00 |
| 3 Nos. | Providing wall Almerah with R. C. C. slabs etc. complete | 32 | 60 | do. | 97 | 80 |
| 1 No. | Providing R. C. C. slab in the kitchen. | 10 | 00 | do. | 10 | 00 |
| Total | | | | | 4305 | 75 |

Plinth Area: 1086.2 sq. ft.

i.e. cost per sq. ft. of Plinth Area = Rs. 3.96

Note: Soil blocks used for construction of walls and pillars have been valued in the estimate at the cost for which they could have been made by paid coolies.

N. B. — Complete blue-prints of the house are available from the SOCIAL INSTITUTE EXTENSION SERVICE, Vellayambalam, Trivandrum 3, for Rs. 4 per set.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

UNDERSTANDING NEW NATIONS

" Understanding New Nations " (SOCIAL ORDER, February 1961) is the title of an article adapted from an address delivered at the 33rd Annual Conference of the Catholic Association for International Peace by Thomas P. Melady, President of Consultants for Overseas Relations, U. S. A.

The main point of the article is a plea for friendly dialogue and fraternal conversation between the peoples of the Western world and the new independent nations of Asia and Africa. "I regret to note, says Mr. Melady, that we in the West have not comprehended the significance of the revolution that has taken place before our eyes. We do not understand its political impact; we have been unable to embrace the people of these nations with any of the fervour that should be intrinsic to our way of life. We have, in disappointing fact, failed to understand these new nations".

What are salient features of the situation? 29 new nations, two-thirds of them African, have joined the world family of nations in the past 14 years, 17 of them in the last year. Three more, all African, will be independent very soon. The 29 new States combined with the older Afro-Asian States total 42. Before long they will control a majority of votes in the 99-strong U. N. O.

We must know these people, not only on account of the political and economic implications of their new status, but above all because they are fellow human beings representing 64% of the world's population.

"The new nations are full of historical achievements. Highly developed civilizations existed in Africa and Asia before the West had established itself as a leading civilization". The slave trade which followed on the first contacts of the West with

Africa, "will always remain as a scar on our Western civilization in the eyes of the African people".

Today "simultaneously with their political development, a significant change in Africa has taken place among the younger people", a change caused both by "the rush of the African peoples toward independence and the struggle that has emerged in the last few years for their minds and their hearts".

The young peoples of Africa want education. Education psychologically and physically separates them from their homes. "They have lost or rejected the value systems of their parents... and are possessed with a drive to bring quick solutions to the age-old problems that have afflicted their peoples, problems not only of political independence, but also of the great scourges of Africa — poverty, disease and illiteracy".

In their passion for education young Africans "will walk hundred of miles to read a few books, to learn of the heritage of the past and catch

up on the great technological progress made by the rest of the world. They will go without food and clothes in order to drink at this fountain of knowledge".

"The unfortunate fact is that this noble passion of African youth to obtain education has occurred simultaneously with the destruction of their own value system and the appearance of Soviet communism, an ideology which demands only two things from the African — his mind and his heart. The decade 1960 to 1970 will tell the story of whether the young people of Africa can be successful in learning 20th century technology without falling victims at the same time to the camouflaged colonialism of the Soviets".

The author, who has widely travelled in Africa, testifies to the success of the Communist "peoples-to-peoples" programme. "Hundreds of young communist volunteers are serving in Guinea and other communist states. From my own personal experience I must report that they are enthusiastic, attractive representatives of communism".

He expresses his concern that the West is not really aware of the growing communist success in Africa.

Failure on the part of the West to have understood the new nations has the gravest implications. "Apart from the political implications, we have failed in the past 15 years to bring into our family circle friends who have been knocking at the door."

It is not quite too late, though. "The increasing con-

cern about our failure can give us encouragement. Perhaps now we will begin to understand and begin to carry on a fraternal conversation... The people of Africa and Asia will understand us when we share with them our ideals, our hopes; when we embrace them as PEOPLE..... (They) are now our next-door neighbours. If this is recognized, we will understand the new nations".

PAX ROMANA SEMINAR

While dramatic events were taking place a few miles away at Leopoldville, Catholic students of ten African countries quietly met at the Lovanium University from December 22, 1960, to January 5, 1961, for the Second Pan-African Seminar of Pax Romana.

In his address on "Building a Good Political Society in Africa", Mr. James E. Stewart, a South African, made some points which should make those reflect who see no salvation for Africa but in western type democracy.

"Investigators in recent years have shown that African social organisation before the arrival of the West was in many ways rich and complex. Throughout Africa in the past, the fundamental unity of African government lay in the hierarchy of chiefs with their councillors, in the tribe. Indeed, the kinship grouping, and the network of personal relationships and claims, is still a vital factor in African society today. In what way are modern states in Africa going to make use of these indigenous forms in the new structure? It would

be inexcusable not to build with respect for roots which lie deep in the past. Our African political institutions are essentially local and regional. The modern state with its vigorous centralising power, was unknown to African antiquity. It is chiefly in the sphere of local government that the traditional African authorities can be preserved".

He, however, acknowledges that the attempt to keep African values alive by perpetuating the old system of government has not worked.

The dilemma before Africa is: "On the one hand, all that is positive and good in this new world (of technology) must be taken up and given the positive acceptance of a Christian, full of trust in God's providence. But the unique qualities and values, part of the world's riches which lie in our indigenous ways of life, must be retained. Nevertheless all that offends against the dignity of a man and a Christian must be allowed to die".

The orator then made the following shrewd remarks:

(1) 'The only fundamentally legitimate title to civil

authority is the consent of the people'. But this consent may be tacit rather than explicit. It NEED not be by franchise.

(2) A well-developed system of local government (such as existed in Africa), in which a whole community participates, is a school of civic responsibility. "If you want a viable state, develop local democracy".

(3) "In Africa where the people are so inexperienced in politics it is especially important that there should be checks and balances in the constitution, to ensure control over the various organs of government. Where respect for natural law and the rule of law in public affairs is not deeply ingrained, freedom must be protected institutionally".

(4) African states "are very often divided by different languages, and by groups having different histories with separate traditions, memories and loyalties... Certainly it should not be the object of African states to extinguish lively diversities of culture; they are God's plenty, new and different tributes to His beauty speaking through Africa".

(5) Mr. Stewart warns against excessive Centralism under the impulsion of nationalism which "has gathered a kind of religious pressure trying to sweep everything into its movement, into one militant secular unity". But there are strong forces at work against excessive centralism. "Above all the enormous number of new voluntary associations for self-help and progress growing up in our new societies, reviving the connections of family, village group and tribe, — 'Improvement Unions, Improvement Leagues, Welfare Leagues, Community Leagues, Tribal Unions, Patriotic Unions and Progressive Unions too numerous to mention' — show that the life of our whole political body does not lie in the central government alone! Perhaps the greatest single

defence of African freedom will be the multiplication and growth of nation-wide units for welfare, for education, for community development, inspired by the zeal of good men".

(6) "It is in association with others that we grow to manhood. Communities in the modern world, like men, must cooperate, show charity, and even yield up some independence to be more fully themselves. Sovereignty and nationalism, while of a certain validity, are intrinsically inferior concepts — what matters is to be joined in associations and friendships of multi-racial and multi-national world communities. What matters even more is to remember that the rich heritage of natural truths and values of the world are not exclusive... They are for all."

BOOK REVIEWS

POUR UNE ECONOMIE DU BIEN COMMUN, by Georges Ducoin.
(P. Lethielleux. Editeur. 10 rue Cassette, Paris, VIe 1959.)

With the failure of Liberal Economics to furnish a satisfactory economic regime for the common welfare, and the still uncertain results of planned economy in many countries, Father Ducoin's book is a welcome effort which attempts to establish an economic system free both from the evils of unfettered economic competition and from the risks of economic dictatorship.

Catholics, and especially those who still consider Catholic social teaching, as something extraneous to sound Catholic doctrine will find the book extremely enlightening. Making abundant use of papal documents, Fr. Ducoin easily shows that Catholic social doctrine is firmly grounded upon dogmatic truth. Man has a supernatural destiny or calling, but because man has a social nature and has been created to live in society, he must work out his destiny in the company of his fellow men and amid the social, economic and political conditions which obtain in human society. Hence these conditions must be such that they help and do not hinder him from working out his supernatural destiny, and it is the

task of Catholic social teaching to guide man, either in the building of healthy social conditions or in reforming those which militate against man's destiny.

While the principles of Catholic social doctrine remain fixed and unchanging, the application of these principles must find expression in the actual social, economic and political conditions which prevail in society. In the practical sphere, Catholic social teaching insists on keeping in view two fundamental truths, viz., the dignity of the human person, and the common welfare. In the background, all economic activity which aims at satisfying human wants must be such that while the welfare of the individual is sought, the well being of society, or the common good, must not be neglected.

Explaining the practical application of Catholic social doctrine in the field of economic operations, the author follows the well known and traditional exposition. Thus,

- i. Catholic social doctrine does not aim at teaching the

mechanics of economic operations. In such matters she has neither the competence nor the authority.

ii. Given the Church's basic teaching on the unity of the human race, Catholic social doctrine rejects the principle of class war as a factor of social progress.

iii. The most favoured structure of the economic system is that which is built upon occupational groups, which brings together all (workers and employers) who are occupied in the same industry, and are bound together by common interests. This does not exclude associations of employers and employees.

iv. While private ownership is a natural right and may not be denied to any individual, the institution of private property must be such that property in all its forms is made to serve the common welfare.

v. Social justice demands that each one should receive from

society a sufficiency of goods and services so that he may be able to make his own contribution towards the common good.

vi. The action of the State should be subsidiary; helping individual effort, but not taking over that which private initiative can do.

While Fr. Ducoin's book is a handy collection of papal documents, it hardly gives any detailed application of Catholic social principles. Indeed, it is not easy to see how the profit motive, essential to economic society can be controlled to work for the common good. Again while one may agree that State intervention is essential to control unfair competition and monopolies, it is not easy to lay down any rules which would prevent the State from establishing an economic dictatorship. However, the most valuable contribution made by this book is its clear explanation of the dogmatic foundations of Catholic social teaching and the social apostolate.

C. C. C.

WAGE DETERMINATION AND ORGANISED LABOUR IN INDIA.

A Doctorate thesis, by Rev. A. J. Fonseca, S.J.

It is a common place that one of the most difficult parts of economic theory concerns wage determination. The problem is, perhaps, as old as industry itself, and has drawn the attention of economic theoreticians and the practical employer from the time the wage earner appeared in industrial society. The whole question becomes still more difficult when it deals with wages in a developing country and a growing force of organised labour. Hence, no little credit is due to the author for undertaking such a subject for research.

The study opens with a review of the many theories concerning wages from those early theories propounded by Adam Smith till the latest developments of the Keynesian school. The purpose of this review is, as the author says, "to discover how agreement on fundamentals in wage theory could be of use towards better understanding and healthier relationships between industrial labour, industrial management and the public authorities who are concerned with the level and structure of wages". Unfortunately, the experience of wage discussions in Western countries is of little help in determining wages in a developing country. Moreover, any comparison between the influence of Trade Union-

ism in a more advanced country, and one which is developing is not easy due to weakness of Unionism and the great number of unorganised labour in the newly developing country.

Owing to the part played by Government in the economic development of India, the influence of Trade Unions on wage policy cannot be properly understood without some examination of the wage policy of the Government. Hence, Chapter II deals with a comprehensive history of the Indian Trade Union Movement and is followed by a study of the Government's policy with reference to wages. "The Government of India" we are told "has been inspired with the ideal of securing for industrial labour a 'living wage'", and this objective was first enunciated in the Indian Constitution. It may also be added that the Government of India insisted on the need of a living wage for industrial workers due to the weakness of labour to fight its own battles, on account of the fact that the Indian labour market was a buyers' market with a great number of workers who were unorganized. Various measures were put into force by the Government in an attempt to determine just what a just wage should be. Thus, Enquiry Committees, Wage Boards, Industrial Tribunals and Pay

Commissions have all had a share in regulating wages. Often wages have been fixed or regulated when these agencies have negotiated with the Unions. Perhaps, one of the most detailed and exhaustive examinations of wages was made by the Report of the Committee on Fair Wages. The report analyses, in detail, the various definitions of the Minimum, Fair and Living Wage, as understood in this country and in other industrially advanced countries.

How far have methods used by Government agencies been helpful to the Union in securing their objectives is discussed in Chapter V. The method of Collective Bargaining has been useful in some cases, but this method can only be of use "where the unions have the full confidence and backing of its members". Further, it may be added that this system implies the rejection of the principle of class war which is inherent in some Indian Unions of the Communist type. The attempt of the Government to regulate wages by means of the Minimum Wage Act, 1948 did not prove very successful mainly because of the difficulties in enforcing the Act.

Finally, the author studies the impact of Trade Unionism on wages and the wage structure of the country, and concludes that "it may be safely asserted that taking the Indian economy as a background, money wage rates will tend to rise at least in the short term in proportion to the degree of unionisation, the rise in the cost of living, and the level of productivity in accordance with the percentage yielded".

While by its very nature, this research project will be of great help to students and experts interested in the question of wages in India, it will appeal to the lay man who is anxious to know what share of the National Income goes to the workers of the country, and how this share is calculated. In fact, the style and language are such that mere technicalities are avoided and the reading made easy. The work makes its own contribution to the literature on Indian Labour and on one of the most interesting subjects of the country — wage determination.

C. C. C.

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